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THE

GREEK ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS

OF

THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

CONTAINING —

I. EUSEBIUS'S LIFE OF CONSTANTINE, ORATION, ETC.

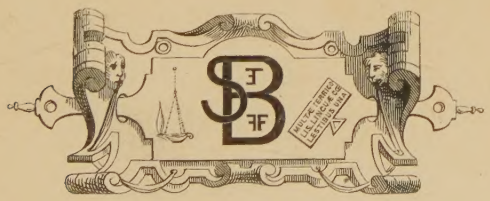
II. EUSEBIUS'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, TO A. D. 324.

III. SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS'S HISTORY, A. D. 324 TO 340.

IV. SOZOMEN'S NARRATIVE, A. D. 324 TO 340.

V. THEODORET'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, A. D. 322 TO 428.

VI. EVAGRIUS'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, A. D. 439 TO 594.



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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

(A)

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN FIVE BOOKS,

FROM A. D. 322. TO THE DEATH OF THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA A. D. 427.

BY

THEODORETUS, 393-457

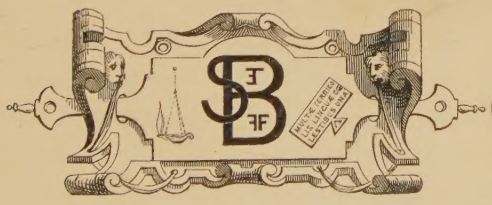
BISHOP OF CYRUS.

A NEW TRANSLATION FROM THE ORIGINAL:

WITH

A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS, AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EVENTS RECORDED.



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Church history

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LIFE OF THEODORET,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

Theodoret, the author of the following history, was born at Antioch, about the year 387. His parents had long been childless; and it is related that much prayer was offered, and especially by Macedonius, a hermit, that a son might be born unto them. Hence, when at length, in answer to prayer, this child was granted to them, the name Θεοδώρητος was conferred upon him, signifying, *given by God.*

Little is known respecting the childhood and early youth of Theodoret, except that his mother, who seems herself to have been a remarkable character, dedicated him to God from his very cradle. According to some accounts he was placed in a monastery at the age of seven, where he studied theology and the sciences under Theodorus of Mopsuestia and St. John Chrysostom. Certain it is, that much of his life was devoted to study; for it is evident from his works that he was a very learned man, conversant with classical and theological literature, and acquainted with several languages besides his own, which was the Syriac. He entered upon the work of the ministry at a very tender age; for he was but a child when he was appointed to be one of the public readers of Scripture. His parents, who were persons of rank and affluence, died when he had scarcely attained to

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manhood, leaving him in possession of a splendid inheritance. He, however, despised the gifts of fortune, and chose a life of voluntary poverty. He renounced his land and his honours, and distributed all that he possessed among the poor, reserving nothing for himself but his clothes, which were of very inferior quality. The next years of his life were spent in retirement in a monastery about thirty leagues from Antioch. In A.D. 423 he was compelled, almost by force, to relinquish his solitude, and to enter upon the duties of the episcopal office. He was ordained by the bishop of Antioch, and sent to govern the church of Cyrus, in Syria Euphratensis, with its eight hundred villages. This new field of labour offered many discouragements, yet the self-denying and zealous spirit of Theodoret soon changed the whole aspect of affairs. Although, on his first appointment, the diocese was full of Arians, Macedonians, Eunomians, and other heretics, yet in the year 449 not one heretic could be found throughout the whole region. Nor were his labours confined to his own diocese; for Pagans and Jews from distant countries constantly resorted to him, and he publicly confuted all the arguments and objections which they could advance against Christianity. He attributed his success to prayer, and particularly to the persevering supplications of James, a hermit.

Theodoret was also active in promoting the temporal welfare of his flock. He greatly beautified the city of Cyrus, which was but a small and almost deserted town when he first fixed his residence in it. He built an aqueduct and a canal to supply the former deficiency of water. He likewise repaired the baths, and erected public galleries and two bridges in this city. His whole public life seems to have been one of ceaseless exertion; and in one of his works he

describes himself as engaged "in the hurry of a thousand occupations, both in the city and in the country, both military and civil, both ecclesiastical and secular."

The rage of controversy, so characteristic of mediæval history, interrupted the useful and dignified tenor of his existence. About A.D. 430, he became involved in a dispute concerning the heresy of Nestorius, whose cause he espoused. The distinguishing tenet of Nestorius was, his refusal to give to the Virgin Mary the title of Θεοτόκος, or Mother of God. That Theodoret should have sided with this heresiarch can only be accounted for upon the supposition that he did not perceive, that, unlike most of the disputes of the period, this heresy was not a mere quibble about words, but involved a doctrine of no less importance than the divinity of the Son of God. Theodoret uniformly and strenuously adhered to this doctrine, although he rejected this particular term, Θεοτόκος. Most probably his conduct in rejecting the term, while he maintained the thing signified, was mainly, if not wholly, attributable to the friendship which had long subsisted between him and Nestorius, and to the personal pique which had arisen between him and St. Cyril, the principal opponent of the heresy.

In A.D. 431, the council of Ephesus was convened by the emperor Theodosius, for the purpose of allaying the dissensions which the Nestorian heresy had excited in the church. At this council Nestorius was excommunicated, and his heresy condemned. Several of his most zealous partizans, and among them was Theodoret, were deposed from their ecclesiastical offices. The disputes, however, still continued with unabated acrimony; and it was not till A.D. 435 that Theodoret was induced, by the entreaties of certain holy brethren,

to become reconciled with the hostile party: he then renounced the defence of Nestorius, and was accordingly reinstated in his bishopric.

The remainder of his life was not spent in tranquillity.

He soon became involved in a fresh controversy with Dioscorus, the successor of St. Cyril in the see of Alexandria. Theodoret was accused of maligning the memory of St. Cyril. Another cause of the dispute was, that Theodoret vehemently opposed the Eutychian heresy, which Dioscorus as firmly upheld. The heresy of Eutychus was directly opposite to that of Nestorius; for while the latter denied that the divine nature was truly united to the human nature in Christ in one person, the former denied that the two natures in Christ remained distinct. In this controversy Theodoret suffered a second defeat. Dioscorus raised up enemies against him in Constantinople, who accused him of propagating heresy in the church, and of teaching that there are two Sons. Theodosius the younger received these calumnies without examination: he signed the deposition of Theodoret, and forbad his quitting Cyrus. This mandate was pronounced about the year 447. Theodoret was then at Antioch: he quitted the city without saying farewell to any one, and, according to this sentence, retired to Cyrus, where he remained till 450, wholly occupied in literary labours, and in writing letters in self-justification. One of these letters was addressed to Dioscorus, but no regard was paid to it: on the contrary, Theodoret was publicly anathematised in Alexandria, and fresh complaints against him were laid before the emperor. Soon after, another council was held at Ephesus, at which Dioscorus presided, and here Theodoret was excommunicated. Theodoret appealed to St. Leo, the bishop of Rome, in a

long letter, in which he recounted the services which he had rendered to the church, referred to his writings as containing proofs of his orthodoxy, and complained of the injustice of the council in condemning him unheard and during his absence. In 450 he obtained permission from Theodosius to quit Cyrus, and to retire to a monastery. Theodosius died the same year (450), and was succeeded by Marcian, who had married his sister Pulcheria. Marcian recalled Theodoret; and, at the instance of St. Leo, convened the council of Chalcedon. Here the enemies of Theodoret raised loud clamours against him, recommenced their accusations, and insisted upon his pronouncing anathema against Nestorius. Theodoret desired rather to explain his own doctrines than to anathematise his friend: at length, overpowered by the numbers of his enemies, he exclaimed, "Anathema to Nestorius, and to all who do not confess that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God." Upon this compliance with the demands of the council, he was formally re-instated in his episcopal dignity. The few remaining years of his life seem to have been passed in retirement. He is thought to have died about A.D. 458, probably in the seventieth or eightieth year of his age. Even after his death his enemies renewed their attacks, and again called his orthodoxy into question. His works were condemned as heretical at the fifth general council: but, according to the almost unanimous decision of posterity, this sentence was unjust; for from his earliest youth he had been diligently instructed in the doctrines of the Nicene confession of faith; and throughout his life he invariably adhered to the principles of the *homoousians*, or those who maintained the consubstantiality of the three divine Persons of the Trinity. The condemnation of the council referred to those points wherein

he was blameless, while the real errors of his doctrines escaped undetected. The defectiveness of his views, especially with respect to justification, adoption, and regeneration, may, however, be easily detected by all who feel inclined to peruse his voluminous writings, and at the same time to search the Scriptures as to whether these things be so.

The most considerable of the works of Theodoret is a "Commentary on the Bible." The first part of this Commentary is arranged in the form of question and answer, and those passages only are proposed for elucidation which were considered difficult of interpretation by the author. The literal and most obvious sense of Scripture is generally adhered to throughout this work; yet some very singular opinions are occasionally advanced. For instance, the Spirit of God, which is stated to have moved upon the face of the waters (Gen. i.), is here represented as signifying only the air; and a supposition, equally untenable, is introduced of there being two heavens, namely, the heavens properly so called, and the firmament, "which," says Theodoret, "God made of the fluid substance of the water after he had condensed it and rendered it solid." A most charitable construction is put on the conduct of some of the persons mentioned in Scripture. Thus our author adduces the intemperance of Noah as a proof of the previous sobriety of his life, and asserts that he was ignorant of the inebriating property of wine. He acquits Jacob of falsehood and deceit in passing himself off for his elder brother, on the ground that, having purchased the right of primogeniture, he was, in truth, the first-born son. In the same spirit, he says that Rachel was merely actuated by her anxiety to deter her father from idolatry, when she purloined his idols.

Although Theodoret has been generally accused of being too bold in his metaphors, some of his illustrations seem particularly happy. For instance, in the answer to the twelfth question on Exodus, "What am I to understand by God's having hardened Pharaoh's heart?" Theodoret, after giving some explanation of the subject, illustrates it in the following manner: "The sun is said to melt wax and to harden mud, although it possesses only the property of giving heat; so the patience and goodness of God produce two contrary effects in different individuals, being useful to the one and rendering the other more guilty; hence it is said, that some are thus converted and others hardened." Select passages in each successive book, from Genesis to the Psalms, are expounded by means of question and answer in the mode above-mentioned: but, in the commentaries on the Psalms and the succeeding books, Theodoret has adopted a form of exposition analogous to the method pursued by Henry, Scott, and other well-known modern commentators. We possess his commentaries on every book in the Old Testament, except that on Isaiah, of which only some fragments have been preserved. In the elucidation of the New Testament he seems to have omitted the gospels, the Acts, the catholic Epistles, and Revelation, confining himself solely to the epistles of St. Paul. The whole work is valuable as affording a clear view of the mode in which Scripture was usually handled by the theologians of the fifth century, and of the interpretation most commonly attached by them to controverted passages.

The other writings of Theodoret, in the editions of his works, are usually arranged in nearly the following order:—

1. "Ecclesiastical History, in five books." It was written

before the death of Theodosius the younger; for, in book v., chapter 36, Theodoret speaks of him as then reigning. Theodosius died July 29th, 450, and the history was probably completed the same year. It comprises a period of 105 years, namely, from A. D. 324, when Constantine the Great, having become master of the East, began to oppose the Arian heresy, which had then but recently arisen, to A. D. 429, or, according to some authors, A. D. 428; so that part of this history may be called the narrative of Theodoret's own times. It was intended to be supplementary to the ecclesiastical history of Socrates and Sozomen, both of which were written about the year 450. The author also designed it as a continuation of the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius; for he takes up the chain of events from the very point at which Eusebius broke off. Many important events, which are omitted by Socrates and Sozomen, and which would not otherwise have been transmitted to posterity, are recorded by Theodoret; he has preserved many particulars relative to the life of Athanasius, and of the Eastern bishops, and particularly those concerning Melitius, Flavian, and Eusebius of Samosata; and he thus throws light on various circumstances, which, but for him, would have created much doubt and obscurity in our knowledge of the history of this period. It is also by means of this history that we now possess some of the most important documents of the fourth century, such as synodical epistles, and the original letters of Arius, of emperors, and of other celebrated persons. The crying evil in the history of Theodoret is, the total omission of all chronology, and even of chronological order. Among the anachronisms and errors contained in it, may be specified the following:—Theodoret makes Eusebius of Nicomedia the successor of Alexander,

bishop of Constantinople, whereas Eusebius succeeded Paul (book i. chap. 16). He places the election of St. Ambrose at the commencement of the reign of Valentinian, although it took place ten years after the accession of that emperor (book iv. chap. 5). He places the sedition of Antioch after the massacre of Thessalonica; but the sedition occurred A.D. 388, and the massacre not till A.D. 390 (book iv. chap. 5). He also confounds the siege of Nisibis by the Persians in the year 350, with another siege which took place A.D. 359. These errors, however, do not affect the intrinsic value of the work. This history is, according to the learned Photius, superior to those of Socrates and Sozomen, being written in a style more consonant with the subject, and containing little that is superfluous.

2. The history entitled "Philotheus" is a record of the lives of about thirty anchorites, with some of whom Theodoret was personally acquainted. It chiefly consists in an account of the almost incredible austerities which they practised, and of the miracles which they wrought; for our author, like all the theologians of the period, was a firm believer in miracles. Several cases, even of women, are adduced, who sequestered themselves from the world, and lived in a state of perpetual bodily mortification. He instances in particular an interview he had with two women who lived in the most rigid solitude within a narrow cell, but who, out of respect for his sacerdotal office, permitted him to enter: he found them loaded with chains, which the strongest men could scarcely have borne; and one of them was literally bowed down upon the ground beneath the weight, and unable to move: their existence was passed in this state. The most remarkable memoir in this work is that of St. Simeon Stylites, originally a peasant of

Cilicia, who fixed his abode on the top of a pillar upwards of thirty-six cubits in height. The life, however, which he led upon this exalted pinnacle, was by no means an idle one, for he delivered public exhortations twice a day, and, according to report, performed the most extraordinary miracles, so that those who were diseased went to him, and were healed. He adjudged differences, and performed all the functions of a judge. He had much influence in the transactions of public affairs, and frequently wrote to the emperor, and to persons in authority. It was by him also that the affairs of the church were regulated, that the future success of any enterprise was determined, and that the arguments of Pagans, Jews, and heretics were confuted. The style in which this history is written may almost be called bombastical; and the author, by way of giving dignity to his subject, frequently compares his heroes to the patriarchs and prophets of old. Yet this history cannot but be pronounced useful; for the deluded men of whom it treats occupy a very prominent place in the records of those periods in which they lived. They held the highest place in the esteem and veneration of the public, and were not unfrequently called from their solitary and comfortless cells to the head of the largest and most important dioceses.

3. "Eranistes or Polymorphus," a work which derives its name from its being designed to combat error under the many forms or shapes imparted to it by different heresies. Two persons are introduced as conversing on the subject: the one proposes questions and starts objections, the other defends the true faith. The doctrines mainly advocated in these dialogues, may be briefly stated as follows:—Jesus Christ is both man and God. The human and the Divine nature

are united in one person, yet these two natures subsist without mixture or confusion. At the end of the dialogues is a synopsis of the arguments previously advanced, arranged in the scholastic form; the dialogues themselves are written in an easy and familiar strain, and are intended for general readers. The style of the whole work is clear and logical. The objections of the opponent are well and fairly propounded, and the arguments brought against them, though not always very convincing, may yet be said, on the whole, to give indications of strong reasoning powers.

4. Another work on heresies. This treatise gives a detailed account of the errors held by various heresiarchs and sects. Four volumes, one devoted to these descriptions, arranged not chronologically, but, as it were, in classes according to the subject. In the fourth volume there are some very severe strictures against Nestorius; but their authenticity is doubted. Theodoret drew his materials for the compilation of this history from the most esteemed writers; and he cites St. Justin, St. Irenæus, St. Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius of Palestine, and several others as his authorities. A fifth volume is annexed, containing a clear and eloquent statement of the doctrines of the church as opposed to those of heretics.

5. "A Series of Ten Discourses on Providence," which have been pronounced the finest productions on the subject that have been handed down from antiquity. The first of these discourses treats on natural theology, constantly referring the sceptic to the works of God, to the sun, moon, and stars, which he has made. It seems probable that these were sermons prepared by Theodoret for the benefit of some particular congregation; but the power of analogical reasoning which they

exhibit, as well as the brilliant eloquence of the style, render them permanently valuable.

6. "Twelve Discourses on the Cure of Pagan Errors," a work in which the classical erudition of Theodoret is more fully displayed than in any other. He here quotes upwards of a hundred writers. The style is very elaborate; the author evidently endeavoured to imitate that of Plato. These discourses were suggested by the public disputations which he frequently held with heretics of different denominations.

7. "Discourse on Charity." This is considered to have been intended as the conclusion of the work entitled "Philotheus," which has been already mentioned. It extols the love and charity exhibited by those who suffered for the faith.

8. "Sermon upon St. John."

9. "Confutation of St. Cyril's Twelve Chapters." It must be observed, that Theodoret does not here combat any of the doctrines received as orthodox, but that he merely attacks the mode in which these doctrines are enunciated by St. Cyril.

10. Fragments of a book against St. Cyril.

11. "The Letters of Theodoret." These were very numerous; they are generally arranged in the following order:—

1. "Letter to Sporatius," which, however, is rather a fragment of the treatise on heresies.

2. "Letter to John, bishop of Germanica."

3. "Some Letters written during the Time of the Council of Ephesus."

4. "Some Letters written in the Time of negotiating the Peace."

5. "Letters written after the Peace."

All these letters are divisible into two classes; those which

relate to his disputes with the bishops of Egypt, and which are all more or less imbued with the acrimony of party spirit; and, secondly, the friendly and familiar letters which, though likewise very frequently of a polemical nature, relate chiefly to his own private affairs. These letters give an insight into the character and motives of Theodoret. They serve to prove the blamelessness of his course of life, and the piety, charity, and true humility of his spirit. He seems to have excelled particularly in the epistolary style of writing; and his letters have been described as being just what letters ought to be, "short, plain, neat, courteous, elegant, full of matter, wit, and holiness."

The first collection of Theodoret's writings was printed at Cologne in 1573. An excellent edition of his works was published as early as 1642 at Paris, by Sirmond, in four volumes, folio, to which Garnier, in 1684, added a fifth volume, containing the letters and discourses of Theodoret, with long dissertations by the editor. An edition from this recension was published at Halle, A. D. 1769-74, by Nonselt, and this is the most recent edition which we possess of Theodoret's entire works.

Although it is evident, even from the above enumeration, that Theodoret was a voluminous writer, yet all his works have not been mentioned, many of them having been lost. The following is a list of those which are no longer extant:—

Commentary on Isaiah.

Five Books against St. Cyril.

Treatise upon the Incarnation.

Several Treatises against the Arians, Apollinarists, Marcionists, and Jews.

An Answer to the Questions of the Persian Magi.

A Mystical Book.

Apology for Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, and for Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia.

The following works are attributed to Theodoret, though not upon the best authority:—

Preface upon the Psalms.

Fragments of a Commentary upon the Psalms.

Five Sermons in Praise of St. Chrysostom.

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THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

THEODORET.

BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

DESIGN OF THIS WORK.

When painters depict on tablets and on walls the events of ancient history, their delineations delight the eye, and preserve the remembrance of the past. But historians substitute books for canvass, flowery eloquence for brilliant colours, and thus render the recollection of past events much more vivid and permanent. Besides, as the most skilful productions of painting are liable to be destroyed by time, I have undertaken to record in writing events hitherto omitted in ecclesiastical history, lest so many illustrious actions and incidents so deserving of fame, should be suffered to sink into oblivion. In addition to all this, I have been very frequently urged by my friends to undertake this work. But when I compared my own powers with the magnitude of the undertaking, I shrank from attempting it. Trusting, however, in the bounty of the Giver of all good, I feel emboldened to enter upon a task beyond my own strength.

Eusebius of Palestine has written a history of the church from the time of the holy apostles to that

of Constantine, the prince beloved of God. I shall commence my history from the period at which his terminates.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF THE ARIAN HERESY.

After the death of the wicked tyrants, Maxentius, Maximin, and Licinius, the storm abated which their atrocity had, like a furious whirlwind, excited against the church: the hostile winds were hushed, and tranquillity ensued. This was effected by Constantine, a prince deserving of the highest praise, who, like the divine apostle, was not called by man or through man, but by God. He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanding churches to be erected. He appointed believers to be the governors of the provinces, ordered that honour should be shown to the priests, and threatened with death those who dared to insult them. The churches which had been destroyed were rebuilt, and others still more spacious and magnificent than the former ones were erected. Hence the concerns of the church were smiling and prosperous, while those of her opponents were involved in disgrace and ruin. The temples of the idols were closed; but frequent assemblies were held, and festivals celebrated in the churches. But the devil, the enemy of mankind, although conscious that the church was upheld by the Creator and Ruler of the world, could not see her in the enjoyment of so much prosperity without

devising plans for her destruction. When he perceived that his former artifices had been detected, that the error of idolatry was recognised, and that the greater number of men worshipped the Creator, instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and Saviour; but having found some who, though bearing the name of Christians, were yet slaves to ambition and vain-glory, he thought them fit instruments for the execution of his designs. He, accordingly, used them as the means of drawing others back into error, not indeed by the former artifice of setting up the worship of the creature, but by attempting to bring down the Creator to a level with the creature. I shall now proceed to relate where and by what means he sowed these tares.

Alexandria is a large and populous city, and is considered the metropolis not only of Egypt, but also of the adjacent countries, Thebes and Lybia. After Peter, the illustrious champion of the faith, had, during the sway of wicked tyrants, obtained the crown of martyrdom, the church in Alexandria was ruled for a short time by Achillas. He was succeeded by Alexander, [A. D. 312,] who was the foremost in defending the doctrines of the gospel. Arius, whose name was then enrolled among the presbytery, and who was entrusted with the exposition of the holy scriptures, fell a prey to uncontrollable jealousy, when he saw that all the power of the priesthood was committed to Alexander. Under the influence of this passion, he sought opportunities for dispute and contention; and, although he perceived that Alexander's

conduct was far above the reach of detraction, he could not subdue the envy by which he was tormented. The enemy of truth made use of him to plunge the church into trouble, by exciting him to oppose the apostolical doctrines held by Alexander, who, receiving the testimony of the holy scriptures, taught that the Son is equal with the Father, and of the same substance with God who begat him. Arius inveighed in direct terms against this truth, and affirmed that the Son of God is merely a creature or created being, and that there was a time when He had no existence: the other opinions which he advanced may be learned from his own writings. He taught these false doctrines not only in the church, but also in general meetings and assemblies; and he even went from house to house, endeavouring to draw men over to his sentiments. Alexander, who was strongly attached to the doctrines of the apostles, at first endeavoured by arguments and remonstrances to convince him of his error; but when he found that he had had the madness to make a public declaration of his impiety, he ejected him from the order of the presbytery, according to the precept of the word of God, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee."

CHAPTER III.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL BISHOPS.

The church of Rome was at this period ruled by Silvester. His predecessor in the administration was Miltiades,* the successor of that Marcellinus who had so nobly distinguished himself during the persecution. After the death of the tyrant, when peace began to be restored to the churches, Vitalis assumed the chief authority in Antioch, and restored what had been destroyed during the reign of the tyrants. He was succeeded by Philogonius, who completed all that had been omitted in the work of restoration: he had, during the time of Licinius, signalised himself by his zeal for religion. After the administration of Hermon, the government of the church in Jerusalem was committed to Macarius, a man whose name was noble, and whose mind was adorned by every virtue. At this period, Alexander, who had become illustrious by his apostolical gifts, governed the church of Constantinople.

It was at this time that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, perceiving that the ruling passion of Arius was the love of power, and that many were deluded by the blasphemous doctrines propagated by him at private meetings, communicated an account of his heresy by letter to the rulers of the principal churches. That the truth of my statement may not be suspected, I shall now transcribe the letter which he wrote to Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, as it contains a clear account of all the facts I have mentioned. I

* Riddle calls him Melchiades.

shall subjoin the letter of Arius, and also some other letters which are necessary to the completion of this history, and which are corroborative, as well as explanatory of what has been already written. The following letter was written by Alexander of Alexandria, to the bishop of the same name as himself.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EPISTLE OF ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, TO ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"ALEXANDER sendeth greeting in the Lord to Alexander, the honoured and beloved brother.

"Impelled by avarice and ambition, some evil-minded individuals have formed designs to obtain the highest ecclesiastical preferments. Under various pretexts, they trample upon the religion of the church; and, being instigated by Satanic agency, they abandon all circumspection, and throw off the fear of God's judgments. Having been made to suffer by them in my own diocese, I write to arouse your caution, that you may be on your guard against them, lest they or any of their party should presume to enter your diocese. They are skilful in deception, and circulate false and specious letters, calculated to delude the simple and unwary.

"Arius and Achillas have lately formed a conspiracy, and have acted even more culpably than Colluthus, whom they rivalled in ambition. He reprehended their conduct; for he certainly had some pretext to plead in extenuation of his own guilt.

When they perceived the gain resulting from the sale of ordinances, they felt unable to remain in subjection to the church; they accordingly constructed caverns, like those of robbers, in which they constantly assemble, and day and night they there invent calumnies against the Saviour, and against us. They revile the religious doctrines of the apostles, and having, like the Jews, conspired against Christ, they deny his divinity, and declare him to be on a level with other men. They collect all those passages which allude to the incarnation of our Saviour, and to his having humbled himself for our salvation; and bring them forward as corroborative of their own impious assertion, while they evade all those which declare his divinity, and the glory which he possesses with the Father. They maintain the ungodly hypothesis entertained by the Greeks and the Jews concerning Jesus Christ; and, at the same time, endeavour by every art to ingratiate themselves with those people.

"All those suppositions connected with our religion which have been advanced to excite derision, they represent as true. They daily excite persecutions and seditions against us. They bring accusations against us before judicial tribunals, suborning as witnesses certain unprincipled women whom they have seduced into error. They dishonour Christianity by permitting young women to ramble about the streets. They have had the audacity to rend the seamless garment of Christ, which the people dared not divide. When their wicked course of life, which had been carefully concealed, became gradually known to us, we unanimously ejected them from the church which

recognises the divinity of Christ. They then ran hither and thither to form cabals against us; they even repaired to our fellow-ministers who were of one mind with us, and under the pretence of seeking peace and communion with them, they endeavoured, by means of fair words, to delude some among them into their own error. They ask them to write long verbose letters, and then make known the contents to those whom they have deceived, in order that they may not retract, but be confirmed in error by finding that bishops concur in their sentiments. They are careful not to admit before them, that they teach unholy doctrines, and perpetrate infamous actions amongst us, and that they are for this cause excluded from communion with us. These facts they either pass over in silence, or else disguise by false assertions and deceptive arguments.

"They conceal their pernicious doctrines by means of their plausible and persuasive mode of conversation; they thus deceive the unwary, while they never omit calumniating our religion on all occasions. Hence it arises that several have been led to sign their letters, and to receive them into communion. I consider that the conduct of our fellow-ministers, in acting so rashly, is highly reprehensible; for they thus disobey the apostolical canons, and co-operate in the work of the devil against Christ. It is on this account that I make you acquainted without delay, beloved brethren, with the unbelief of certain persons who say, that there was a time when the Son of God had no existence; and that, not having existed from eternity, he must have had a beginning;

and that when he was created, he was made like all other men that have ever been born. God, they say, created all things, and they include the Son of God in the number of creatures, both rational and irrational. To argue consistently, they, as a necessary consequence, affirm, that he is by nature liable to change, and capable both of virtue and of vice. Their hypothesis, of his having been created, contradicts the testimony of the divine scriptures, which declare the immutability, the divinity, and the wisdom of the Word, which Word is Christ. 'We are also able,' say these evil-minded individuals, 'to become like him, the sons of God; for it is written,—I have nourished and brought up children' (Isai. i. 2). When the continuation of this text is brought before them, which is, 'and they have rebelled against me,' and it is objected that these words cannot refer to Christ, whose nature is immutable, they throw aside all reverence, and affirm that God foreknew and foresaw that his Son would not rebel against him, and that he therefore chose him in preference to all others. They likewise assert that he was not elected because he had by nature any qualifications superior to those of the other sons of God; for God, say they, has not any son by nature, nor, indeed, had he any connexion whatever with him; they consider that he was elected because, though mutable by nature, he was vigilant and zealous in avoiding evil. They add that if Paul and Peter had made similar efforts, their filiation would in no respects have differed from his.

"To establish this absurd doctrine they pervert the Scriptures, and bring forward that expression in

the Psalms, wherein it is said of Christ, 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows' (Ps. xlv. 7). That the Son of God was not created,* and that there never was a time in which he did not exist, is expressly taught by John the Evangelist, who spoke of him as 'the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father' (John i. 18). This divine teacher desired to show that the Father and the Son are inseparable; and, therefore, he said, 'that the Son was in the bosom of the Father.' But he elsewhere affirms, that the Word of God is not to be classed among created beings; for, he says, that 'all things were made by him,' and he also declares his individual existence in the following words: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.' If, then, all things were made by him, how is it that He who thus bestowed existence on all, could at any period have had no existence himself? The Word who created cannot be of the same nature as the things created. For He was in the beginning, and all things were made by him, and were called by him out of nothing into being: he who is said to have existed before all things, must differ entirely from those things which were called out of nothing into being. This shows, likewise, that there is no separation between the Father and the Son, and that the idea of separation cannot even be conceived by the mind. The fact that the world was created out of nothing, shows that its

* Οὔτε ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγένηται.

creation is comparatively recent; for by the Father through the Son did all things which it contains receive their being. John, the pious apostle, perceiving the greatness of the Word of God above all created beings, could find no terms adequate to convey this truth, neither did he presume to apply the same epithet to the Maker as to the creature. The Son of God is not unbegotten, for the Father alone is unbegotten; but the manner in which the Son was begotten of God is inexplicable, and beyond the comprehension of the evangelist, and perhaps of angels. Therefore, I think that those should not be considered pious who presume to investigate this subject in disobedience to the injunction, 'Seek not what is too difficult for thee, neither enquire into what is too high for thee' (Ecclus. iii. 21). The knowledge of many other things incomparably inferior is beyond the capacity of the human mind, and cannot therefore be attained. It has been said by Paul, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him' (1 Cor. ii. 9). God also said to Abraham, that 'the stars could not be numbered by him;' and it is likewise said, 'Who shall number the grains of sand by the sea-shore, or the drops of rain?' (Ecclus. i. 2.) How then can any one, unless indeed his intellect be deranged, presume to enquire into the nature of the Word of God? It is said by the Spirit of prophecy, 'Who shall declare his generation?' (Isai. liii. 8.) And, therefore, our Saviour in order to benefit those who were as the columns of all the churches established in the world, delivered them from

the trouble of striving after this knowledge, by telling them that it was beyond their comprehension, and that the Father alone could discern the divine mystery; 'No man,' said he, 'knoweth the Son but the Father, and no man knoweth the Father save the Son' (Matt. xi. 27).

"It was, I think, concerning this same subject that the Father said, 'My secret is for me and for mine.' It is evidently folly to imagine that the Son of God was created, and that he has only a temporary existence, although the senseless multitude who admit this hypothesis are incapable of perceiving its absurdity. For their assertion that he did not exist, must have reference to some determinate point of time, or to some particular period within the lapse of ages. If then it be true that all things were made by him, it is evident that all ages, time, all intervals of time, and all other periods comprehended within these terms, in which he is said not to have existed, were made by him. And is it not absurd to say that *He* did not at one period exist, who created all time, and ages, and seasons, within which the period in which he did not exist must necessarily be included? For it would be the height of ignorance, and contrary indeed to all reason, to affirm that any created thing whatever can be antecedent to its cause. The space of time during which they say the Son was still unbegotten of the Father was, according to their opinion, prior to the wisdom of God, by whom all things were created. They thus contradict those Scriptures which declare him to be the firstborn of every creature. Conformable to this doctrine is the language of Paul, who has thus

written concerning him; 'whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds' (Heb. i. 2). 'For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things' (Col. i. 16, 17). Since the hypothesis we have just examined is manifestly impious, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the Father is always the Father. The Father is the Father because he has a Son; hence it is that he is called a Father. Having a Son, he is perfectly a Father, nothing being wanted to complete the relation. He did not beget his only Son in time, or in any period of time, nor in any thing that had previous existence.

"Is it not impiety to say that the wisdom of God was at one period not in existence? for it is written, 'I was with Him being joined to Him, I was his delight.' Has not the power of God always subsisted? Was the Word of God ever separated from God? or, can any thing else be advanced by which the Son can be known, or the Father designated? If the reflection of the light should disappear, it is evident that its disappearance can only arise from the light itself being extinguished; so if there ever was a time in which the image of God did not exist, then God himself could not have existed. The supposition that the likeness of God does not exist, implies that God himself has no existence, for the likeness is the exact reflection of himself. Hence it may be seen, that the Sonship of our Saviour has nothing in common with the sonship

of men. For if, as it has been shown, the nature of his existence cannot be expressed by language, and infinitely surpasses in excellence all things to which he has given being, so, his Sonship, being divine, is unspeakably different from the sonship of those whom it has been His will to adopt as children. He is by nature immutable, perfect, and all-sufficient, whereas men are liable to change, and need His help. What further progression can be made by the wisdom of God? What can be added to his truth, or to his word? What augmentation of power can be given to life itself, or to the true light? And is it not still more contrary to nature to suppose that wisdom can be susceptible of folly? that the power of God can be converted into weakness? that reason itself can be rendered void by folly, or that darkness can be mixed with the true light? Does not the Apostle remark on this subject, 'What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?' (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15); and Solomon said, that he could not comprehend 'the way of a serpent upon a rock' (Prov. xxx. 19), which, according to St. Paul, is Christ. Men and angels, who are his creatures, have received his blessing, enabling them to grow in virtue, in obedience to his commands, and in the power of avoiding sin. And it is on this account that our Lord, being by nature the Son of the Father, is worshipped by all. They having been delivered from the spirit of bondage, receive the spirit of adoption by means of progressing in virtue; and, according to the will of Him who is the Son of God by nature, they also become sons. His true and divine sonship is expressly declared by

Paul, who, speaking of God, says, that 'he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us, who are not by nature his sons' (Rom. viii. 32). It was to distinguish him from those who are not his own, that he called him his own son. It is also written in the Gospel, 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased' (Matt. iii. 17); and in the Psalms it is written that the Saviour said, 'The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son' (Ps. ii. 7).

"By showing that He is the true and legitimate Son, it follows that there can be no other such sons besides himself. But what can these words signify, 'I conceived thee in my bosom before the star of morn,' unless they are meant to show that he was born according to the course of nature of the Father, not on account of superior natural endowments, or of acquired excellence, but simply according to the operations of nature? Hence it ensues that the filiation of the only begotten Son is immutable; while those who are not his children by nature, but who stand in that relation merely on account of their fitness as to character, and by the bounty of God, may fall away, as it is written in the word, 'The sons of God saw the daughters of men, and took them as wives,' and so forth (Gen. vi. 2). And God, speaking by Isaiah, said, 'I have begotten and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me' (Isa. i. 2). I might add many other things, dear brethren, but I fear that I shall cause weariness by admonishing those who are already well instructed, and who are of one mind with myself. You, having been taught of God, cannot be ignorant that the heresy against the religion of the

Church which has just arisen, is the same as that propagated by Ebion and Artemas, and that it resembles that of Paul of Samosata,* bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by a council of all the bishops [A.D. 265]. Lucius, his successor, remained during three years out of communion with three bishops.

"Those amongst us who have imbibed their impious principles, and who now affirm that the Son did not at one period exist, may be regarded as scions of the same stock: I allude to Arius and Achillas, and to those who follow them. Three bishops in Syria, ordained no one knows how, side with them, and excite them to plunge deeper and deeper into iniquity. I refer their sentence to your decision. They commit to memory all that they can collect concerning the suffering, humiliation, debasement, and sorrows of our Saviour, which he underwent for our salvation: they pervert those passages to disprove his eternal existence and divinity, while they reject all those which declare his glory and union with the Father; as for instance, the following words, 'My Father and I are one' (John x. 30). The Lord did not proclaim himself to be the Father, neither did he represent two persons as one; but he intended to show that the Son exactly resembles his Father, and is his true and perfect likeness. When, therefore, Philip, desirous of seeing the Father, said to him, 'Lord, show us the Father,' he said to him, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,' that is to say, hath seen the divine image reflected, as in a pure and living mirror of the

* Paul of Samosata was condemned at the council of Antioch, A D. 265.

divine nature; because, he has seen the Father reflected in the Son. The same idea is conveyed in the Psalms, where the saints exclaim, ' In thy light we shall see light' (Ps. xxxv). It is on this account that he who honoureth the Son, honoureth the Father. Every impious word which men dare to utter against the Son, is spoken also against the Father.

" After this no one can wonder at the false calumnies which, my beloved brethren, they propagate against me, and against our religious people. They not only deny the divinity of Christ, but bring injurious charges against us. They cannot endure to be compared with the ancients, nor with the doctors who instructed us in our youth. They will not admit that any of our fellow-ministers possess even mediocrity of intelligence. They say that they themselves alone are wise and destitute of property; and that they alone are in possession of the true doctrines, which, say they, have never entered the mind of any other individuals under heaven. O what wicked arrogance! O what excessive folly! What false boasting, and melancholy delusion, joined to Satanic pride, retain dominion over their evil minds! They are not ashamed to oppose the perspicuous declaration of ancient and godly books, nor the unanimous decision of all our fellow ministers concerning the worship of Christ, which they have the audacity to oppose. Even devils are not guilty of impiety like this; for even they refrain from speaking blasphemy against the Son of God. These then were the subjects I had to argue, according to the ability I possess, with those uninstructed and ignorant individuals who dishonour Christ, and bring

forward calumnies against our religion. These foolish people pretend that we who have rejected their impious and unscriptural blasphemy concerning the creation of Christ, have done so with the design of teaching that there are two unbegotten beings. For these ignorant persons contend that one of these two things must necessarily be true: either that Christ was created, or that there are two unbegotten beings. They are unable to comprehend that there is a vast distance between the Father who is uncreate, and the creatures, whether rational or irrational, which he created; and that the only begotten nature of him who is the Word of God stands, as it were, in the middle between the two, God having by him formed the creatures. The Father begat him; and it was of this that Christ testified when he said, 'Every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him' (1 John v. 1).

"We believe, as is taught by the apostolical church, in the only unbegotten Father, who is the Author of his own existence, who is immutable and invariable, and who subsists always in one state of being, which admits neither of progression nor of diminution; who gave the law, and the prophecies, and the gospel; who is the Lord of patriarchs and apostles, and of all saints: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten, not out of what had no previous existence, but begotten of his Father, yet not after the manner of material bodies, by cutting, dividing, or wrenching, as Sabellius and Valentinus taught. He was begotten in an inexpressible and inexplicable manner, according to the saying which we quoted above, 'Who shall declare his generation?' No mortal

intellect can comprehend the nature of his existence;* just as the Father cannot be known; neither can the manner in which he was begotten of the Father be understood by any one. But those who are led by the Spirit of truth have no need to learn these things of me, for the words long since spoken by the Saviour yet sound upon our ears, 'No one knoweth the Father but the Son, and no one knoweth the Son but the Father.' We have learnt that the Son is immutable and unchangeable, all-sufficient and perfect, like the Father, differing only in this one respect, that the Father is unbegotten. He is the exact image of his Father. Every thing is found in the image which exists in its archetype; and it was this that our Lord taught when he said, 'My Father is greater than I.' And accordingly we believe that the Son proceeded from the Father; for he is the reflection of the glory of the Father, and the figure of his substance. But let no one be led from this to the supposition that the Son is unbegotten, as is believed by some who are deficient in intellectual power: for to say that he was, that he has always been, and that he existed before all ages, is not to say that he is unbegotten.

"The mind of man could not possibly invent a term expressive of what is meant by being unbegotten. I believe that you are of this opinion; and, indeed, I feel confident that you all take an orthodox view of this subject. For all the terms that have been devised appear to signify merely the production of time, but they are not adequate to express the divinity and, as it were, the priority of the only begotten Son. They were used by the holy men who vainly endea-

* Ὑπόστασις.

voured to clear up the mystery, and who pleaded a very reasonable apology for their failure, by informing their audiences that the subject was beyond their powers. If any one should say that knowledge in part is abolished, and that words beyond the comprehension of man can be pronounced by human lips, it might clearly be proved that this expectation is far from being borne out by the following expressions, 'He who was, and who is, and who was before all ages.' And this has not the same signification as unbegotten. Therefore is honour due to the Father, as being the Author of his own existence: to the Son likewise must be given the glory which is due to him, he having been begotten of the Father from the beginning; therefore he must be worshipped. In speaking of him it must only be said that he was, and that he is, and that he has been from all ages. Let us not deny his divinity, but ascribe to him a perfect and unerring resemblance to his Father. Let us testify that the Father alone is unbegotten, inasmuch as the Saviour says, 'My Father is greater than I.'

"Besides entertaining this pious opinion respecting the Father and the Son, we confess, according to the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, the existence of the Holy Ghost, which truth has been upheld by the saints of the Old Testament, and by the learned divines of the New. We believe in one catholic and apostolical church, which cannot be destroyed even though all the world were to fight against it, and which never fails to defeat all the impious designs of heretics; for it is emboldened by the words of the Spouse, who said, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world' (John xvi. 33). Besides this, we receive

the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, of which Jesus Christ our Lord became the first-fruits. He possessed a true not a supposititious body, he derived it from Mary the mother of God; for in the fulness of time he assumed the nature of man, for the remission of sins: he was crucified and died, yet his Godhead suffered no diminution. He rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high. In this epistle, I have only mentioned these things in a cursory manner. It would, I fear, be wearisome to you who are already so well instructed, if I were to dwell more fully on each topic. These things we teach, these things we preach; they constitute the doctrine of the apostolic church, for which we are ready to die: and little can be effected by those who would compel us by force to renounce them; for we will never relinquish our hope, even though we should be made to suffer tortures. Arius and Achillas, and also all those who join them in opposing the truth, have been expelled from the church, because they reject our pious doctrines: for the blessed Paul said, 'If any of you preach any other gospel than that which you have received, let him be accursed, even though he should pretend to be an angel from heaven' (Gal. i). 'But if any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing' (1 Tim. vi. 3, 4), and so forth. Since, then, they have been condemned by the brethren, let none of you receive them, nor attend to what they say or write. They are deceivers, and propagate lies, and they never adhere to the truth. They go about to

different cities with no other intent than to deliver letters under the pretext of friendship and the name of peace, and by hypocrisy and flattery to obtain other letters in return, in order to deceive a few foolish women, who are laden with sins. I beseech you, beloved brethren, to avoid those who have thus dared to act against Christ, who have publicly vilified the Christian religion, who have brought its professors before judicial tribunals, who have endeavoured to excite a persecution against us at a period of the most entire peace, and who have cast contempt on the unspeakable mystery of the generation of Christ. Unite unanimously in opposition to them, as some of our fellow-ministers have already done, who, being filled with indignation, wrote to me about them, and signed the formulary.*

"I have sent you these signatures by my son Apion, the deacon; they are the signatures of the ministers in all Egypt and in Thebes, also of those in Lybia, Pentapolis, Syria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Asia, Cappadocia, and in the other adjoining countries. You likewise must follow this example. Many attempts have been made by me to gain back those who have been led astray, and to discover the means of restoring the people who have been deceived by them; and I have found none more persuasive in leading them to repentance, than the manifestation of the union of our fellow-ministers. Salute one another, my brethren. I pray that you may be blessed by the Lord, my beloved, and that I may receive the fruit of your prayers, and of your love to Christ.

"The following are the names of those who have

* Τόμος.

been excommunicated: among the presbyters, Arius; among the deacons, Achillas, Euzoius, Aithalis, Lucius, Sarmatis, Julius, Menas, another Arius, and Helladius."

Alexander wrote in the same strain to Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, to Eustathius, who then ruled the church of the Bereans, and to all those who defended the doctrines of the Apostles. But Arius could not quietly acquiesce in this: he therefore wrote to all those whom he thought were of his sentiments. In his letter to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, Arius confesses that the holy Alexander wrote nothing that was false. I shall here insert his letter, in order that the names of those who were implicated in his impiety may become generally known.

CHAPTER V.

THE LETTER OF ARIUS TO EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA.

"ARIUS, unjustly persecuted by the Pope Alexander, on account of that all-conquering truth which you also uphold, sendeth greeting in the Lord to his very dear lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius.

"Ammonius, my father, being about to depart for Nicomedia, I considered myself bound to salute you by him, and withal to address myself to that natural affection which you bear towards the brethren for the sake of God and of Christ, apprising you that the bishop oppresses and persecutes us

most severely, and that he causes us much suffering: he has driven us out of the city as atheists, because we do not concur in what he publicly preaches, namely, that the Father has always been, and that the Son has always been: that as the Father so is the Son; that the Son is unbegotten as the Father; that he is always being begotten, without having been begotten; that neither by thought nor by any interval does God precede the Son, God and the Son having always been; and that the Son proceeds from God. Eusebius, your brother bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotius, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory, Aetius, and all the bishops of the East, have been condemned because they say that God had an existence prior to that of his Son; except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, who are unlearned men, and who have embraced heretical opinions. One of them says that the Son is an effusion, another that he is an emission, the other that he is also unbegotten. These are impieties to which we could not listen, even though the heretics should threaten us with a thousand deaths. But we say and believe, and have taught, and do teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any way unbegotten, even in part; and that he does not derive his subsistence from any matter; but that by his own will and counsel he has subsisted before time, and before ages, as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable, and that he existed not before he was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established. For he was not unbegotten. We are persecuted, because we say that the Son had a beginning, but that God was without beginning. This is really the cause of our persecution, and likewise, because we say that he is from nothing (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων

ἔστιν). And this we say, because he is neither part of God, nor of any subjacent matter. For this are we persecuted; the rest you know. Farewell. As a disciple of Lucian, and as a truly pious man according to the import of your name, remember our afflictions."

Of those whose names are mentioned in this letter, Eusebius was bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotius was bishop of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregory of Berea, and Aetius of Lydda. Lydda is now called Diospolis. Arius boasted that these were all of one mind with himself. He names as his adversaries, Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, Hellanicus, bishop of Tripoli, and Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. He spread calumnies against them because they said that the Son is eternal, existing before all ages, equal with the Father, and of the same substance.

When Eusebius received the epistle, he detected the impiety of the sentiments therein expressed, and wrote to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, in the following words.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LETTER OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA, TO PAULINUS, BISHOP OF TYRE.

"To my lord Paulinus, Eusebius sendeth greeting in the Lord.

"The zeal of my lord Paulinus, and likewise his silence concerning the truth, have not failed to reach our ears. If, on the one hand, we have rejoiced on

account of the zeal of my lord; on the other we have grieved, because the silence of such a man appears like the condemnation of our cause. Hence, as it behoves not a wise man to be of a different opinion from others, and yet to be silent concerning the truth, I exhort you to stir up within yourself the spirit of wisdom, that you may be able to write what may be profitable to yourself and to others; which will certainly be the case, if you will examine the Holy Scriptures, and follow them in your writings. We have never heard that there are two unbegotten beings, nor that one has been divided into two. We have neither been taught, my lord, nor do we believe that the Divinity has ever undergone any change of a corporeal nature; but we affirm that there is one who is unbegotten, and that there also exists another who did in truth proceed from him, yet who was not made out of his substance, and who does not at all participate in the nature or substance of him who is unbegotten. We believe him to be entirely distinct in nature and in power, and yet to be a perfect likeness, in character and in power, of him from whom he originated. We believe that the mode of his beginning cannot be expressed by any words; and that it is incomprehensible not only to man, but also to orders of beings superior to man. These opinions we advance, not as having derived them from our own imagination, but as having deduced them from Scripture, whence we learn that the Son was created, established, and begotten in the same substance and in the same immutable and inexpressible nature as the Maker; and so the Lord says, 'God created me in the beginning of his way; I was set up from everlasting; before

the hills was I brought forth' (Prov. viii. 22—26). If he had proceeded from him or of him, as a portion of him, or by an efflux of his substance,* it could not be said that he was created or established; and of this you, my lord, are certainly not ignorant. For that which proceeds from Him who is unbegotten cannot be said to have been created or founded, either by him or by another, since he has been begotten from the beginning. But if any one should hold that he was born of the substance and nature of the Father, because he said that he was begotten, we would reply that it is not of him alone that the Scriptures have spoken as begotten, but that they also thus speak of those who are entirely dissimilar to him by nature. For of men it is said, 'I have begotten and brought up sons, and they have rebelled against me' (Isa. i. 2); and in another place, 'Thou hast forsaken God who begat thee;' and again it is said, 'Who begat the drops of dew?' (Job xxxviii. 28). This expression does not imply that the dew partakes of the nature of God, but simply that all things were formed according to his will. There is, indeed, nothing which partakes of his substance, yet every thing which exists has been called into being by his will, for he verily is God. All things were made in his likeness, and in the future likeness of his Son, being created according to his will. All things were made by the Son and through God. All things are of God.

"When you have received my letter, and have revised it according to the knowledge and grace given you by God, I beg you will write as soon as possible

* Ἐξ ἀποῤῥοίας της οὐσίας.

to my lord Alexander. I feel confident that if you will write to him, you will succeed in bringing him over to your opinion. Salute all the brethren in the Lord. May you, my lord, be preserved by the grace of God, and be led to pray for us."

It is thus that they write to each other, in order to furnish one another with weapons against the truth.* When blasphemous doctrines became disseminated in the churches of Egypt and of the East, disputes and contentions arose in every city, and in every village, concerning theological dogmas. The common people were witnesses of these controversies, and judges of what was said on either side, and some applauded one party, and some the other. These were, indeed, melancholy scenes, over which tears might have been shed. For it was not, as in bygone ages, when the church was attacked by strangers and by enemies. During this period, those who were natives of the same country, who had dwelt under one roof, and had sat down at one table, fought against each other with their tongues, instead of with spears. And, moreover, they who thus took up arms against one another, were members of each other, and belonged to one body.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL COUNCIL OF NICE.

The emperor, who possessed the most profound wisdom, had no sooner heard of the troubles of the

* Arius first published his heresy, A.D. 319.

church, than he endeavoured to put an end to them. He, therefore, despatched a messenger of considerable sagacity to Alexandria with letters, believing that he would be able to put an end to the dispute, and reconcile the disputants. But his hopes were frustrated by the result of this undertaking; and he, therefore, proceeded to summon the celebrated council of Nice; and commanded that the bishops, and those connected with them, should be mounted on the asses, mules, and horses belonging to the public, in order to repair thither. When all those who were capable of enduring the fatigue of the journey had arrived at Nice, he went thither himself, as much from the wish of seeing the bishops, as from the desire of preserving unanimity amongst them. He arranged that all their wants should be liberally supplied. Three hundred and eighteen bishops were assembled. The bishop of Rome, on account of his very advanced age, was necessarily absent, but he sent two presbyters to the council, for the purpose of taking part in all the transactions. At this period, individuals were richly endowed with apostolical gifts; and many, like the holy apostle, bore in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ. James, bishop of Antioch, a city of Mygdonia, which is called Nisibis by the Syrians and Assyrians, had power to raise the dead, and to restore them to life: he performed many wonderful miracles, which it would be superfluous to mention in detail in this history, as I have already given an account of this in my work, entitled Philotheus. Paul, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, a fortress situated on the banks of the Euphrates, had suffered much

from the cruelty of Licinius. He had been deprived of the use of both hands by the application of a red hot iron, by which the nerves which give motion to the muscles had been contracted and destroyed. Some had had the right eye torn out, others had lost the right arm. Among the latter sufferers was Paphnutius of Egypt. In short, this was an assembly of martyrs. Yet this holy and celebrated assembly was not free from those of a contentious spirit; there were certainly few of this class; yet they were as dangerous as sunken rocks, for they concealed the evil, while they profanely coincided in the blasphemy of Arius. When they were all assembled, the emperor ordered a large apartment to be prepared for their accommodation in the palace, in which a sufficient number of seats were placed; and here the bishops were summoned to hold their deliberations upon the proposed subjects. The emperor, attended by a few followers, was the last to enter the room; his personal beauty attracted much admiration, which was increased by his extreme modesty. A low stool was placed for him in the middle of the assembly, upon which, however, he did not seat himself until he had asked the permission of the bishops; and they all then sat down around him. The great Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who, upon the death of Philogonius, already referred to, had been appointed his successor by the unanimous suffrages of the priests and of the people, and of believers, was the first to speak. He pronounced a panegyric upon the emperor, and commended the diligent attention he had manifested in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs.

At the close of this speech, the excellent emperor exhorted them to unanimity and concord; he recalled to their remembrance the cruelty of the late tyrants, and reminded them of the honourable peace which God had, at this period and by his means, accorded them. And he remarked, how very grievous it was, that at the very time when their enemies were destroyed, and when no one dared to molest them, that they should fall upon one another, and afford matter for diversion and ridicule to their adversaries, while they were debating about holy things which ought to be determined by the written word, indited by the Holy Spirit, which they possessed. "For the gospel," (continued he,) "the apostolical writings, and the ancient prophecies clearly teach us what we are to believe concerning the divine nature. Let then all contentious disputation be set aside; and let us seek in the divinely inspired word, the solution of all doubtful topics." These and similar exhortations he, like an affectionate son, addressed to the bishops as to fathers, desiring their accordance in the apostolical doctrines. Most of those present were won over by his arguments, established concord among themselves, and embraced sound doctrine. There were, however, a few, of whom mention has been already made, who opposed these doctrines, and sided with Arius; and amongst them were Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolitanus, Theognis, bishop of Nice, and Narcissus, bishop of Neroniadis, which is a town of the second Cilicia, and is now called Irenopolis; also Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt. They

drew up a declaration of their creed, and presented it to the council. Instead of being recognised, it was torn to pieces, and was declared to be spurious and false. So great was the uproar raised against them, and so many were the reproaches cast on them for having betrayed religion, that they all, with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, stood up and excommunicated Arius. This impious man, having thus been expelled from the church, a confession of faith which is received to this day was drawn up by unanimous consent; and as soon as it was signed, the council was dissolved. The bishops above-mentioned, however, did not consent to it in sincerity, but only in appearance. This was evidenced afterwards by their plotting against those who were foremost in zeal for religion, as well as by what these latter have written about them. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who has been already mentioned, when explaining a portion of the Proverbs, "God created me in the beginning of his ways, before his works," wrote against them, and refuted their blasphemy.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONFUTATION OF ARIANISM DEDUCED FROM THE WRITINGS OF EUSTATHIUS AND ATHANASIUS.

I NOW proceed to relate how these different events occurred. A general council was summoned at Nice, and upwards of two hundred and seventy bishops were convened. There were, however, so many assembled that I cannot state their exact number, neither, indeed, did I make any endeavour to ascertain this

point. When they began to inquire into the nature of the faith, the formulary of Eusebius was brought forward, which contained undisguised evidence of his blasphemy. The reading of it occasioned great grief to the audience, on account of the depravity of the doctrines; and the writer was covered with shame. After the guilt of the partisans of Eusebius had been clearly proved, and the impious writing torn up in the sight of all, some amongst them, under the pretence of preserving peace, imposed silence on those who usually manifested superior powers of eloquence. The Arians, fearing lest they should be ejected from the church by so numerous a council of bishops, proceeded at once to condemn the doctrines objected to, and unanimously signed the confession of faith. They contrived, however, to retain the principal dignities, although they ought rather to have experienced humiliation.* Sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, they continued to vindicate the condemned doctrines, and brought forth various arguments in proof of them. Wholly bent upon establishing these false opinions, they shrunk from the scrutiny of learned men, and, indeed, of all who are capable of investigation; and they manifested great animosity against professors of religion: but we do not believe that these atheists can overcome God. Whatever may be their efforts, they must ultimately fail in their purpose, according to the solemn prophecy of Isaiah.

These things were written by the great Eustathius. Athanasius, who was equally zealous in the cause of religion, and who was the successor in the ministry of the celebrated Alexander, communicated

* Ὑπόπτωσις.

the following intelligence, in a letter addressed to the Africans.

The bishops being convened to the council, were desirous of refuting the impious assertions of the Arians, that the Son was created out of nothing,* that he is a creature and created being,† that there was a period in which he did not exist,‡ and that he is mutable by nature. They all agreed in propounding the following declarations, which are in accordance with the holy Scriptures: namely, that the Son is by nature the only begotten Son of God, the Word, the Power, and the Wisdom of the Father; that he is, as John said, "very God," and, as Paul has written, "the brightness of the glory, and the express image of the person of the Father."§ The followers of Eusebius, who were led astray by evil doctrines, then assembled for deliberation, and came to the following conclusions:—

"We are also of God. There is but one God, of whom are all things (1 Cor. vi. 8); old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God" (2 Cor. v. 17, 18). They also dwelt particularly upon the following doctrine contained in the Book of the Pastor: "Believe above all that there is one God, who created and restored all things, calling them from nothing into being." But the bishops saw through their evil design and impious artifice, and gave a clearer elucidation of these words, by explaining them as referring to God, and wrote, that the Son of God is of the substance of God; so that while the creatures which do not in any way

* Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων.
† Κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα.
‡ Ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.
§ Heb. i. 3.

derive their existence of or from themselves, are said to be of God: the Son alone is said to be of the substance of the Father; this being peculiar to the only begotten Son, the true Word of the Father. This is the reason why the bishops were led to write, that he is of the substance of the Father. The Arians, who seemed few in number, were again interrogated as to whether they would admit the following points of doctrine: "that the Son is not a creature, but the Power, and the Wisdom, and likewise the Image of the Father; that he is eternal, in no respects differing from the Father, and that he is very God." It was remarked, that the Eusebians signified to each other by signs, that these declarations were equally applicable to us; for it is said, that we are the image and the glory of God; this is said of us because we are living beings: there are, (to pursue their train of argument,) many powers; for it is written—"All the powers of God went out of the land of Egypt" (Exod. xii. 41). The canker-worm and the locust are said to be great powers (Joel ii. 25). And elsewhere it is written, "The God of powers is with us, the God of Jacob is our helper:" for we are not merely children of God, but the Son also calls us brethren. Their saying that Christ is God in truth, gives us no uneasiness: for he was true, and he is true. The Arians made false deductions; but the bishops, having detected their deceitfulness in this matter, collected from Scripture those passages which say of Christ that He is the glory, the fountain, the stream, and the figure of the substance; and they quoted the following words: "In thy light we shall see light;" and likewise, "I and the Father are one." They then clearly and

briefly confessed that the Father and the Son are of the same substance; for this, indeed, is the signification of the passages which have been mentioned. The complaint of the Arians, that these precise words are not to be found in Scripture, is a vain argument; and it may besides be objected to them, that their impious assertions are not taken from Scripture; for it is not written, that the Son was created, and that there was a period in which he did not exist: and also, that they themselves complain of having been condemned for using expressions which, though certainly not scriptural, are yet, they say, consonant with religion. They drew words from the dunghill, and published them upon earth. The bishops, on the contrary, did not invent any expressions themselves; but, having received the testimony of the fathers, they wrote accordingly. Indeed, formerly, as far back as about one hundred and thirty years, the bishops of the great city of Rome, and of our city,* disproved the assertion, that the Son is a creature, and that he is not of the substance of the Father. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, is acquainted with these facts: he, at one time, favoured the Arian heresy; but he afterwards signed the confession of faith of the Council of Nice. He wrote to inform his diocesans, that the word "consubstantial" is found in certain ancient documents, and is used by illustrious bishops and learned writers as a term for expressing the divinity of the Father and of the Son.

Some of the bishops, who had carefully concealed their obnoxious opinions, consented to coincide with the council when they perceived that it was very

* Constantinople.

strong in point of numbers; and thus did they draw upon themselves the condemnation of the prophet, "God the Creator of all cried unto them, This people honour me with their lips, but have removed their heart far from me" (Isai. xxix. 13). Theonas and Secundus, not choosing to dissimulate in the same way, were excommunicated by one consent as those who esteemed the Arian blasphemy above evangelical doctrines. The bishops then returned to the council, and drew up twenty laws to regulate the discipline of the church.

CHAPTER IX.

FACTS RELATING TO MELITIUS THE EGYPTIAN, FROM WHOM ORIGINATED THE MELITIAN SCHISMS, WHICH REMAIN TO THIS DAY.—SYNODICAL EPISTLE RESPECTING HIM.

After Melitius had been ordained bishop, which was not long before the Arian controversy, he was convicted of impiety by the most holy Peter, bishop and martyr of Alexandria, and was deposed by him.* But he did not acquiesce in his deposition, but excited troubles and commotions in Thebes and in the countries round Egypt, and sought the chief power in Alexandria. A letter was written to the church of Alexandria, stating what had been decreed against these innovations. It was as follows:—

SYNODICAL EPISTLE.

"To the church of Alexandria which, by the grace of God, is great and holy, and to the beloved brethren

* Melitius first propagated his heresy A. D. 306, and was deposed the same year.

in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, the bishops who have been convened to the great and holy council of Nice, send greeting in the Lord.

"The great and holy council of Nice having been convened by the grace of God, and by the appointment of the most religious emperor, Constantine, who summoned us from different provinces and cities, we judge it requisite to inform you by letter what we have debated and examined, decreed and established. In the first place, the impious perverseness of Arius was investigated before our most religious emperor, Constantine. His impiety was unanimously condemned, as well as the blasphemous sentiments which he had propounded for the purpose of dishonouring the Son of God, alleging that He was created, that before he was made he existed not, that there was a period in which he had no existence, and that he can, according to his own free-will, be capable either of virtue or of vice. The holy council condemned all these assertions, and impatiently refused to listen to such impious and foolish opinions, and such blasphemous expressions. The final decision concerning him you already know, or will soon hear; but we will not mention it now, lest we should appear to trample upon a man who has already received the recompence due to his sins. Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais, have, however, been led astray by his impiety, and have received the same sentence. But after we had, by the grace of God, been delivered from these false and blasphemous opinions, and from those persons who dared to raise discord and division among a once peaceable

people; there yet remained the temerity of Melitius, and of those ordained by him. We shall now inform you, beloved brethren, of the decrees of the council on this subject. It was decided by the holy council, that Melitius should be treated with clemency, though, strictly speaking, he was not worthy of the least concession. He was permitted to remain in his own city, but was divested of all power, whether of nomination or of ordination, neither was he to exercise these functions in any province or city: he only retained the mere title and the honour of the episcopal office. Those who had received ordination at his hands, were to submit to a more holy re-ordination; they were to be admitted to communion, and were to receive the honour of the ministry; but in every diocese* and church they were to be accounted inferior to those who were ordained before them by Alexander, our much-honoured fellow-minister. It was decreed that they should not elect or nominate, or indeed do any thing without the consent of the bishops of the catholic and apostolical church, who are under Alexander. But those who, by the grace of God, and in answer to prayer, have been preserved from schism, and have continued blameless in the catholic and apostolic church, are to have the power of electing, and of nominating those who are worthy of the clerical office, and are permitted to do every thing that accords with law and the authority of the church. If it should happen, that any of those now holding an office in the church should die, then let those recently admitted be advanced to the honours of the deceased, provided only that they

* Παροικία.

appear worthy, and that the people choose them, and that the election be confirmed and ratified by the catholic bishop of Alexandria. The same privilege has been conceded to all the others. With respect to Melitius, however, an exception has been made, both on account of his former insubordination, and of the rashness and impetuosity of his disposition; for if the least authority were accorded to him, he might abuse it by again exciting confusion. These are the things which relate to Egypt, and to the holy church of Alexandria. If any other resolutions were carried, you will hear of them from Alexander, our most-honoured fellow-minister and brother, who will give you still more accurate information, because he himself directed, as well as participated, in every thing that took place. We must also apprise you, that according to your prayers, we were all of one mind respecting the most holy paschal feast,* so that our brethren of the East, who did not previously celebrate the festival as the Romans, and as you, and, indeed, as all have done from the beginning, will henceforth celebrate it with you. Rejoice, then, in the success of our undertakings, and in the general peace and concord, and in the extirpation of every schism, and receive with the greatest honour and the most fervent love, Alexander, our fellow-minister and your bishop, who imparted joy to us by his presence, and who, at a very advanced period of life, has undergone so much fatigue for the purpose of restoring peace among you. Pray for us all, that what we have equitably decreed may remain steadfast, through our Lord Jesus Christ,

* Πάσχα.

being done, as we trust, according to the good will of God and the Father in the Holy Ghost, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

THE CON-SUBSTANTIAL AND ETERNAL TRINITY.

Notwithstanding the endeavours of that divine assembly of bishops to suppress the unsound theories of Melitius, vestiges of his infatuation remain to this day; for there are in some districts assemblies of monks who neglect sound doctrine, and observe certain vain points of discipline, upholding the same infatuated views as the Jews and the Samaritans. The great emperor also wrote to those bishops who were unable to attend the council, an account of its transactions. And I consider it of importance to insert this epistle in my work, as it clearly evidences the piety of the writer.

CHAPTER X.

THE EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, CONCERNING THE MATTERS TRANSACTED AT THE COUNCIL, ADDRESSED TO THOSE BISHOPS WHO WERE NOT PRESENT.

"CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to the churches.

"Viewing the common prosperity enjoyed at this moment, as the result of the great power of divine grace, I am desirous that the blessed members of the catholic church should be preserved in one faith, in sincere love, and in one form of religion, towards Almighty God. But, because no firmer or more effective measure could be adopted to secure this end,

than that of submitting each holy mode of worship to the examination of all, or most of all, the bishops, I convened as many of them as possible, and took my seat among them as one of yourselves; for I will not deny that truth which is the source of the greatest joy to me, namely, that I am your fellow-servant. Every doubtful point obtained a careful investigation, until doctrines pleasing to God, and conducive to unity, were fully established, so that no room remained for division or controversy concerning the faith. The commemoration of the paschal feast* being then debated, it was unanimously decided, that it should every where be celebrated upon the same day. What can be more lovely, or more reasonable, than that that festival by which we have received the hope of immortality, should be carefully celebrated by all with the same order, and in the same unvarying mode? It was, in the first place, declared improper to follow the custom of the Jews in the celebration of this holy festival, because their hands are imbued in crime, and their minds blinded with defilement. By rejecting their custom, we substitute and hand down to succeeding ages one which is more reasonable, and which has been observed ever since the day of our Lord's sufferings. Let us, then, have nothing in common with the Jews, who are our adversaries. Another way has been pointed out by our Saviour. A better and more lawful line of conduct is inculcated by our holy religion. Let us with one accord walk therein, my much-honoured brethren, studiously avoiding all contact with so evil a people. They boast that without their instructions we should be unable to commemo-

* Πάσχα.

rate the festival properly. This is extremely absurd: what truth can be held by those who, after having compassed the death of the Lord, have not been guided by reason, but by the deceitful aberrations of their own mind? In that very point they have so far lost sight of truth, by always acting according to their own misguided opinions, that they celebrate the Passover twice in one year. What motive can we have to follow those who are thus led astray by error, for we could never judge it right to celebrate it twice in one year. But, even if all these facts did not exist, your own sagacity would prompt you to watch with diligence and with prayer, lest your pure minds should become defiled by intercourse with a people so utterly depraved. It must also be borne in mind, that a difference of opinion upon so important a point as the celebration of a religious rite is unlawful. One day has been set apart by our Saviour, for a commemoration of our deliverance and of his most holy sufferings; he decreed that his catholic church should be one, and that the members, though dispersed throughout various parts of the world, should be one in spirit, and should be directed by the same divine command. Do exert your usual sagacity, and reflect how evil it would be, and how improper, that days devoted by some to fasting, should be spent by others in convivial feasting: and yet this is, in fact, the case. During the paschal feast, some are rejoicing in festivals and relaxations, while others are bowed down by long fastings. That this impropriety should be rectified, and that all these diversities of commemoration should be resolved into one

form, is the will of divine Providence, as I am convinced you will all admit. Therefore, this irregularity must be corrected, in order that we may no more have any thing in common with the parricides and the murderers of our Lord. An orderly and excellent form of commemoration is observed in all the churches of the western, of the southern, and of the northern countries, and even in the eastern; this form being universally commended, I certified your readiness to adopt it likewise. Receive, then, willingly, the one regulation unanimously adopted in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, in all Africa, in Egypt, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Lybia, Greece, in the dioceses of Asia, and of Pontus, and in Cilicia. Reflect, that the churches of the places above-mentioned are not only greater in point of number, but also that their common mode of procedure rests upon accurate and well-founded arguments, and that we ought not to have any thing in common with the perjured Jews.

"I now proceed briefly to recapitulate the whole of the preceding. The judgment of all is, that the holy paschal feast should be held on one and the same day; for, in so holy a matter, it is not right that difference of custom should prevail. It is the more commendable to obey this decree, because it precludes all association with error and with sin. This being the case, receive with gladness the heavenly gift and sacred command; for all that is transacted in the holy councils of the bishops, is sanctioned by the Divine will. Therefore, when you have made known to all our beloved brethren the subject of this epistle, you will be bound to conform to the regular observance of

this holy day, so that when, according to my long-cherished desire, I shall be with you, I may be able to celebrate with you this holy festival upon one and the same day; and that I may rejoice with you all in witnessing the cruelty of the devil, through Divine grace, destroyed by our efforts, and in perceiving that faith and peace and concord are every where in a flourishing condition. May God preserve you, beloved brethren."

CHAPTER XI.

THE DAILY WANTS OF THE CHURCH SUPPLIED BY THE EMPEROR, AND AN ACCOUNT OF HIS OTHER VIRTUES.

Thus did the emperor write to those who were absent. Those who attended the council were three hundred and eighteen in number; and to these he manifested great kindness, addressing them with much gentleness, and presenting them with gifts. He ordered numerous seats to be prepared for the accommodation of them all during the repast to which he invited them. Those who were most worthy, he received at his own table, and provided other seats for the rest. Observing that some among them had had the right eye torn out, and learning that this suffering had been undergone for the sake of religion, he placed his lips upon the wounds, believing that blessing would thence result. After the conclusion of the feast, he again presented other gifts to them. He then wrote to the governors of the provinces, directing that money should be given in every city to orphans and widows, and to

those who were consecrated to the divine service; and he fixed the amount of their annual allowance more according to the impulse of his own generosity, than to the exigencies of their condition. The third part of the sum is distributed to this day. Julian impiously withheld the whole; his successor conferred the sum which is now dispensed, the famine which then prevailed compelling him to do but little. If the pensions were formerly triple in amount to what they are at present, the magnanimity of the emperor can by this fact be easily conceived.

I do not account it right to pass over the following circumstance in silence. Some quarrelsome individuals wrote accusations against certain bishops, and presented this catalogue of crime to the emperor. This occurring before the restoration of concord, he received the lists, formed them into a packet to which he affixed his seal, and put them aside. After a reconciliation had been effected, he brought out these writings, and burnt them in their presence, at the same time declaring upon oath that he had not even read them. He said that the crimes of priests ought not to be made known to the multitude, lest they should become an occasion of offence or of sin. He also said that if he had detected a bishop in the very act of committing adultery, he would have thrown his imperial robe over the unlawful deed, lest any should witness the scene, and be thereby injured. Thus did he admonish all the priests, as well as confer honours upon them; he then exhorted them to return to their churches.

I shall here insert the letter respecting the faith, written to Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, as it describes

the effrontery of the Arians, who have not only despised our fathers, but have rejected their own; and as it also contains a convincing proof of their violence. They certainly honoured Eusebius, because he had adopted their sentiments; but yet they opposed and maligned his writings. He wrote this epistle to some of the Arians, who had accused him, it seems, of treachery. The preceding narrative will be more readily comprehended, and will be rendered clearer by means of this letter.

CHAPTER XII.

EPISTLE OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA, CONCERNING THE NICÆAN FORMULARY OF FAITH.

"It is likely that you have learnt from other sources what was decided respecting the faith of the church at the general council of Nice; for the fame of great transactions generally precedes the accurate detail of them: but lest rumours not strictly founded in truth should have reached you, I think it necessary to send to you, first, the formulary of faith originally proposed by us, and, secondly, the additions appended to it by the bishops when setting it forth. The following is our formulary, which was read in the presence of our most pious emperor, and which was fully approved by all:—

"'The faith which we hold is that which we have received from the bishops who were before us, and in the rudiments of which we were instructed when we were

baptised.* It is that which we learnt from the Holy Scriptures, and which, when among the presbytery as well as when we were placed in the episcopal office, we have believed and have taught; and which we now believe, for we still uphold our own faith. It is as follows:—

" ' I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things, whether visible or invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the word of God, God of God, Light of light, Life of life, the only begotten Son, the First-born of all creatures, begotten of the Father before all ages; by whom all things were made: who for our salvation took upon him our nature, and dwelt with men. He suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father; and he will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. We also believe in one Holy Ghost. We believe in the existence of each person; we believe that the Father is in truth the Father; that the Son is in truth the Son; that the Holy Ghost is in truth the Holy Ghost; for our Lord, when sending out his disciples to preach the Gospel, said, ' Go forth and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' We positively affirm that we hold this faith, that we have always held it, and that we shall adhere to it even unto death, condemning all ungodly heresy. We testify, as before God the Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we have believed in these truths from the heart, and from the soul, ever since we have been capable of reflection; and we have the means of showing, and, indeed, of

* Τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν.

convincing you, that we have always during all periods believed and preached them.'

"When this formulary was set forth by us, no one found occasion to gainsay it; but our beloved emperor was the first to testify that it was most orthodox, and that he coincided in opinion with it; and he exhorted the others to sign it, and to receive all the doctrine it contained, with the single addition of the one word—con-substantial. He said that this term con-substantial implied no bodily affection, for that the Son did not derive his existence from the Father either by means of division or of abscision. 'An immaterial, intellectual, and incorporeal nature,' said he, 'cannot be subject to bodily operations. These things must be understood as bearing a divine and mysterious signification.' Thus reasoned our wisest and most religious emperor. The omission of the word con-substantial was adopted as the pretext for composing the following formulary:—

"'*The Articles of Faith maintained by the Council.*—We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father; he is begotten, that is to say, he is of the substance of God, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten and not made, being of one substance with the Father: by whom all things both in heaven and on earth were made. Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and took our nature, and became man; he suffered, and rose again the third day; he ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead. And

we believe in the Holy Ghost.—The holy catholic and apostolical church condemns all those who say that there was a period in which the Son of God did not exist; that before he was begotten he had no existence; that he was called out of nothing into being; that he is of a different nature and of a different substance from the Father; and that he is susceptible of variation or change.'

"When they had set forth this formulary, we did not fail to revert to that passage in which they assert that the Son is of the substance of the Father, and of one substance with the Father. Questions and arguments thence arose. By investigating the meaning of the term, they were led to confess that the word consubstantial signifies that the Son is of the Father, but not as being part of the Father's nature. We deemed it right to receive this opinion; for that is sound doctrine which teaches that the Son is of the Father, but not part of his substance. From the love of peace, and from the fear of deviating from the principles of truth, we accept this exposition without rejecting the term in question. For the same reason we admit the expression, 'begotten, but not made;' for they say that the word 'made' is applied to all things which were created by the Son, and which cannot be placed in comparison with him, none of the creatures that he has made being like him. He is by nature superior to all created objects, for he was begotten of the Father, as the Holy Scriptures teach, by a mode of generation which is incomprehensible and inexplicable to all created beings. The mode in which the Son is said to be of the substance of the Father was declared to bear

no relation to the body, nor to the laws of mortal life: it was also shown that it does not either imply division of substance, nor abscision, nor any change or diminution in the power of the Father. The nature of the unbegotten Father is not susceptible of these operations. It was concluded that the expression '*of the substance of the Father*,' implies only that the Son of God does not resemble, in any one respect, the creatures which he has made; but that to the Father, who begat him, he is in all points perfectly similar: for he is of the nature and of the substance of none save of the Father. This interpretation having been given of the doctrine, it appeared right to us to receive it, especially as some of the ancient and most celebrated bishops and writers have used the term con-substantial when reasoning on the divinity of the Father and of the Son. These are the circumstances which I had to communicate respecting the formulary of the faith. To it we all agreed, not thoughtlessly, but after mature reflection; and after having subjected it to thorough examination in the presence of our most beloved emperor, we all, for the above reasons, acquiesced in it. We also willingly admitted the anathema appended by them to their formulary of faith, because it prohibits the use of words which are not scriptural; for almost all the disorders and troubles of the Church have arisen from the introduction of such words. As no one part of the inspired writings contains the assertion that the Son was called out of nothing into being, or that there was a period in which he had no existence, nor indeed any of the other phrases of similar import which have been intro-

duced, it does not appear reasonable to assert or to teach such things. In this opinion, therefore, we judged it right to agree; and, indeed, we had never, at any former period, been accustomed to use such words.* Moreover, the condemnation of the assertion that before he was begotten he had no existence, does not involve any incongruity, because all assent to the fact that he was the Son of God before he was begotten according to the flesh. And here our most beloved emperor began to reason concerning his divine origin, and his existence before all ages. He was power in the Father, even before he was begotten, the Father having always been the Father, just as the Son has always been a King and a Saviour; he has always possessed all power, and has likewise always remained in the same state.

"We thought it requisite, beloved brethren, to transmit you an account of these circumstances, in order to show you what examination and investigation we bestowed on all the questions which we had to decide; and also to prove how firmly, even to the last hour, we persevered in refusing our assent to certain sentences, which, when merely committed to writing, offended us. But yet we subsequently, and without contention, received these very doctrines, because, after thorough investigation of their signification, they no longer appeared objectionable to us, but seemed conformable to the faith held by us, and confessed in our formulary."

* The authenticity of the following sentence is doubted.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONFUTATION OF THE BLASPHEMING ARIANS OF THIS PERIOD, FROM THE WRITINGS OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.

Eusebius clearly testifies that the aforesaid term "con-substantial" is not a new one, nor the invention of the fathers assembled at the council; but that it is of high antiquity, having been handed down from parent to son. He states that all those then assembled unanimously received the formulary of the faith; and he again bears testimony to the same fact in another work, in which he highly extols the conduct of the great Constantine. He writes as follows:—

"The emperor having delivered this discourse in Latin, it was translated into Greek by an interpreter, and then he permitted the chief men of the council to express their sentiments. They at once began to bring forward complaints against their neighbours, while the latter had recourse to recriminations and reproaches. Each party had much to urge, and the controversy beginning to be very violent, the emperor, who had patiently and attentively listened to all that had been advanced, fixed another day for the discussion of their differences, and endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting parties; he addressed them in Greek, of which language he was not ignorant, and spoke in a sweet and gentle manner. Some he convinced by argument, others he soothed by kind words; he commended those who had spoken well, and excited all to reconciliation; until, at length, unity of sen-

timent and of opinion prevailed among them all. They all professed conformity to the same faith, and they agreed to celebrate the holy festival upon the same day. What had been decided was committed to writing, and was signed by all the bishops."

Soon after the author thus continues the narrative :—

"When matters were arranged, the emperor gave them permission to return to their own dioceses. They returned with great joy, and have ever since continued to be of one mind, being so firmly united as to form, as it were, but one body. Constantine, rejoicing in the success of his efforts, made known these happy results by letter to those who were at a distance. He ordered large sums of money to be liberally distributed both among the inhabitants of the provinces and of the cities, in order that the twentieth anniversary of his reign might be celebrated with public festivities."

Although the Arians impiously gainsay and refuse to give credit to the statements of the other fathers, yet they ought to believe what has been written by this father, whom they have been accustomed to admire. They ought, therefore, to receive his testimony to the unanimity with which the confession of faith was signed by all. But even if they combat the opinions of the fathers of their own sect, yet surely they must at least have shrunk with horror from the impieties which emanated from Arius, when they learnt the terrible manner of his death. As it is likely that the mode of his death is not known by all, I shall here relate it.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE WRITINGS OF ATHANASIUS ON THE DEATH OF ARIUS.

After Arius had remained a long time in Alexandria, he endeavoured to obtrude himself again into the councils of the Church, sometimes by professing to renounce his impiety, and at others by promising to receive the confession of faith drawn up by the fathers. But not succeeding in obtaining the confidence of Alexander, nor of his worthy successor and virtuous imitator Athanasius, he, through the exertions of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, went to settle in Constantinople. The intrigues upon which he then entered, and the just punishment which befel him, are all far better narrated by Athanasius, in a letter addressed to Apian, than they are elsewhere; I shall now insert some extracts from this letter.

"I was not at Constantinople when he died; but Macarius, the presbyter, was there, and from him I learnt all the circumstances. The emperor Constantine was induced by the party of Eusebius to send for Arius. Upon his arrival, the emperor asked him whether he held the faith of the Catholic church. Arius replied with oaths that his faith was orthodox, and presented a written summary of his belief; concealing, however, the reasons of his ejection from the Church by the bishop Alexander, and deceitfully endeavouring to imitate the language of the Holy Scriptures. When, therefore, he had declared upon oath

that he did not hold the errors for which he had been expelled from the Church by Alexander, Constantine dismissed him, saying, 'If your faith be orthodox, your oaths are honourable; but if you do not really hold that belief which you have professed upon oath, God will judge you from heaven.' When he quitted the emperor, the partizans of Eusebius, with their usual violence, desired to restore him to communion with the Church; but Alexander, of blessed memory, bishop of Constantinople, remonstrated against this measure, alleging that the originator of a schism ought not to be admitted into communion. Then the rest of the partizans of Eusebius began to menace him in the following terms: 'As against your will we succeeded in prevailing on the emperor to send for Arius, so will we now, in opposition to your opinion, take measures to have Arius associated with us in this church to-morrow.' It was on Saturday that they said this. The bishop Alexander, deeply grieved at what he had heard, went into the church and mourned, raising his hands in supplication to God; and he prostrated himself at the foot of the altar, and prayed. Macarius went in with him, prayed with him, and heard what petitions he uttered. He asked one of two things. 'If Arius,' said he, 'is to be joined to the Church to-morrow, dismiss me thy servant, and do not destroy the pious with the impious. If thou forgivest thy Church, and I know that thou dost forgive her, look upon the words of the followers of Eusebius, and give not over thy heritage to destruction and to shame. Cut off Arius, lest if he enter into communion with the Church, heresy enter also,

and impiety be found conjoined with piety.' Having thus prayed, the bishop left the church in a state of deep mental anxiety. A horrible and unexpected catastrophe ensued. The partizans of Eusebius had launched out into threats, while the bishop had recourse to prayer. Arius, emboldened by the protection of his party, delivered many trifling and foolish speeches, when he was suddenly compelled by the calls of nature to retire, 'and immediately,' as it is written, 'he burst asunder, fell down, and expired, being deprived at once both of communion and of life.' This, then, was the end of Arius. The partizans of Eusebius were covered with shame; yet, as he had held the same sentiments as themselves, they buried him. Alexander was filled with joy, and rejoiced with the Church in the re-establishment of piety and of orthodoxy; he prayed with all the brethren, and glorified God. This was not because he rejoiced at the death of Arius—far from it, for all men must die; but it was because his mode of death surpassed the judgment of man. For God, when passing judgment upon the menaces of the partizans of Eusebius and the prayer of Alexander, condemned the Arian heresy, showing that it was unworthy of being received into the communion of the Church; and thus manifesting that although it received the countenance and support of the emperor, and of all men, yet that it was condemned by truth. These were the first fruits, reaped by Arius, of those pernicious seeds which he had himself sown, forming the prelude to those punishments that await him in futurity. His sufferings, form, as it were, a recital of his impiety."

I shall now turn the discourse upon the virtues of the emperor. He addressed a letter to all the subjects of the Roman empire, exhorting them to renounce their former superstitions, and to embrace the doctrines of our Saviour. He exhorted the bishops in every city to build churches, and encouraged them not only by words, but also by presenting them with large sums of money, adequate to defray all the expenses of building. This he explains in his own letter, which is as follows:—

CHAPTER XV.

LETTER WRITTEN BY THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE RESPECTING THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES.*

"CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius.

"I feel convinced, my beloved brother, that as the servants of Christ have been suffering up to the present time from nefarious machinations and tyrannical persecutions, all the churches must have either fallen into utter ruin from neglect, or, at least, must have become dilapidated from want of proper care. But now that freedom is restored, and that the dominion of the dragon has been destroyed, through the providence of God, and by our instrumentality, I think that the divine power has become known to all, and that those who hitherto, from incredulity or from depravity, have lived in error, will now, upon becoming acquainted with the truth, be led in the way of life. Exert yourself diligently in the reparation of the churches under your jurisdiction, and admonish the

* This letter, according to Du Pin, was written A. D. 324 or 325.

principal bishops, priests, and deacons of other places to engage zealously in the same work; in order that all the churches which still exist may be repaired or enlarged, and that new ones may be built wherever they are required. You, and others through your intervention, can apply to the governors of the provinces, and to the commanders of the troops, for all that may be necessary for this purpose; for they have received written injunctions to supply whatever your holiness may command. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

Thus the emperor wrote to the bishops in each province respecting the re-building of churches. From his letter to Eusebius, bishop of Palestine, it is easily learnt what measures he adopted to obtain copies of the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EPISTLE OF CONSTANTINE CONCERNING THE PREPARATION OF COPIES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

"CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius.

"In the city which bears our name, a great number of persons have, through the providential care of God the Saviour, been adopted into the holy church. As all things here are in a state of rapid improvement, it is evidently requisite that the things which concern the Church should progress proportionably. Adopt joyfully the mode of procedure determined upon by us. It appears expedient that you should get written,

on fine parchment, fifty copies of the Scriptures, of which you know the Church stands much in need; you must have them clearly and elaborately transcribed by persons whom you believe capable of the task, so that they may be easily read and circulated. We have sent letters to the general director, in order that he may be careful that every thing necessary for the undertaking is supplied. The duty devolving upon you is to take measures to ensure the completion of these manuscripts within a short space of time. When they are finished, you are authorised by this letter to order two public carriages for the purpose of transmitting them to us; and thus they will be easily submitted to our inspection. Appoint one of the deacons of your church to take charge of this part of the business; when he comes to us, he shall receive proofs of our benevolence. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

CHAPTER XVII.

LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO MACARIUS, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM, CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

"CONSTANTINE, the victorious and the great, to Macarius.

"The grace of our Saviour is so wonderful, that no words are adequate to express it. His having kept the monument of his most holy sufferings concealed beneath the earth during a long course of years, until the common enemies of all parties were dispersed, and his servants restored to liberty, proves that his

providential care surpasses every other subject of admiration. If all the wise men throughout the world were collected into one place, they could not mention any thing so amazing or so wonderful as this; for this miracle is as much beyond all human power of belief, as heavenly wisdom is beyond the reasonings of man. Hence it is always my first and only object to excite all minds to the observation of the Holy Law with alacrity and diligence, proportioned to the brightness of the manifestation which is thrown by new miracles upon the truth of the faith, day by day. As my design is now generally known, you, above all, must be convinced that my most intense desire is to erect beautiful edifices upon that consecrated spot, which God from the beginning declared holy, and which has been rendered still more holy by the sufferings of our Lord, who thus brought faith to light. The abominable idol which lately desecrated the spot, is now happily removed. I trust, then, to your sagacity to take every necessary care and precaution that these edifices may not only be magnificent, but that they may be incomparably superior to all the most beautiful structures in the world. We have entrusted our friend Dracilianus, governor of the province, with the care of engaging, under your direction, the most skilful workmen for the erection of the walls. He will emulate our piety, and will provide all that you may deem requisite. Let us know, by letter, what columns or marbles you may consider would be ornamental or useful, and we will have them promptly conveyed to you. Whatever wants you mention shall be supplied; for that which is of all places the most wonderful,

ought to be rendered the most beautiful. I wish to learn from you whether you think that the royal arch ought to be fluted, or to be adorned in some other way; for if it is to be fluted, it would be well to gild it. Your holiness must signify to the aforesaid officers, as soon as possible, what workmen and artificers, and what sums of money, are requisite; and let me know promptly not only what marbles and columns, but also what ornamental works are considered the most beautiful. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

CHAPTER XVIII.

HELENA, MOTHER OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.—HER ZEAL IN THE ERECTION OF THE HOLY CHURCH.

These letters were carried by no less illustrious a personage than the mother of the emperor, even by her whose piety was reverenced by all, and who was most highly blessed in her maternal capacity, having been the means of producing that great light which she still nourished by religious counsels. She did not shrink from the fatigue of the journey on account of her extreme old age, but undertook it a little before her death, which occurred in her eightieth year. When she arrived at the place where the Saviour suffered, she immediately ordered the idolatrous temple, which had been there erected, to be destroyed, and the very materials to be removed. The tomb, which had been so long concealed, was discovered; and three crosses, the memorials of the Lord, were perceived near it. All were of opinion that one of

these crosses was that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the other two were those of the thieves who were crucified with him. Yet they could not discern upon which one the body of the Lord had been nailed, and upon which his blood had fallen. But the wise and holy Macarius, the bishop of the city, succeeded in resolving this question. After engaging in prayer, he induced a lady of rank, who had been long suffering from disease, to touch each of the crosses, and the efficacious power residing in that of the Saviour manifested its identity. In fact, it had scarcely been brought near the lady, when the inveterate disease left her, and she was healed. The mother of the emperor, on being informed of the accomplishment of what she had most desired, gave orders that some of the nails should be driven into the royal helmet, in order that the head of her child might be preserved from the darts of his enemies; and she ordered some of the other nails to be fixed in the bridle of his horse, not only to ensure the safety of the emperor, but also to fulfil an ancient prophecy; for Zachariah, the prophet, predicted, that "what is upon the bridles of the horses shall be holiness unto the Lord Almighty." She had part of the cross of our Saviour conveyed to the palace, and the rest was enclosed in a covering of silver, and committed to the care of the bishop of the city, whom she exhorted to preserve it carefully, in order that it might be transmitted uninjured to posterity. She then sent every where for workmen and for materials, and caused the most spacious and most magnificent churches to be here erected. It is unnecessary to describe their beauty

and grandeur; for all the pious, if I may so speak, visited and viewed with admiration these magnificent productions of art.

This celebrated and admirable empress performed another action worthy of being remembered. She assembled a number of young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and made them recline on couches, while she presented them with meat and with a beverage mixed with wine, and waited upon them; she then brought them water to wash their hands.

After performing other laudable actions, the empress returned to her son. Not long after, she tranquilly entered upon another and a better life, after having given her son much pious advice and her fervent blessing. After her death, those honours were rendered to her memory which her stedfast and entire adherence to God deserved.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE UNLAWFUL TRANSLATION OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF NICOMEDIA.

The Arian party did not desist from their evil machinations. They had only signed the confession of faith for the purpose of disguising themselves in sheeps'-skins, while they were acting the part of wolves. The holy Alexander, bishop of Byzantium, now called Constantinople, whose prayer had occasioned the death of Arius, had, at the period to which we are referring, been translated to a better life. Eusebius, the propagator of impiety, little

regarding the regulations to which, only a short time previously, he with the other bishops had agreed, quitted Nicomedia to take possession of the see of Constantinople, in direct violation of that canon which prohibits bishops and presbyters from going from one city to another. But that those who carry their infatuation so far as to oppose the divinity of the only begotten Son of God, should likewise violate the other laws, cannot excite surprise. This is not either the first innovation that he had made; for he had left Berytus, although he had been appointed bishop in that city, and had assumed the superintendance of the church of Nicomedia. He was thence expelled by the synod, when his impiety became known, as was likewise Theognis, bishop of Nice. This is related in the letters of the emperor Constantine; and I shall here insert some extracts explanatory of the circumstance. These letters were written to the Nicomedians.

CHAPTER XX.

EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE AGAINST EUSEBIUS AND THEOGNIS, ADDRESSED TO THE NICOMEDIANS.

"WHO has taught these doctrines to the innocent multitude? It is manifestly Eusebius, the co-operator in the cruelty of the tyrants. For that he was the agent of the tyrants has been clearly shown; and, indeed, is proved by the slaughter of the bishops, and by the fact that these victims were true bishops. The relentless persecution of the Christians may be

considered as furnishing another indubitable proof. I shall not here give an account of my own wrongs, the seditions excited, or the spies employed against me; for, indeed, they scarcely refrained from raising troops against me. Let not any one imagine that I allege what I am not prepared to prove. I am in possession of clear evidence; for I have caused the bishops and presbyters belonging to his retinue to be seized. But I pass over all these facts. I only mention them for the purpose of making these persons ashamed of their conduct, and not from any feeling of resentment. There is one thing which grieves me, and that is to see that you have formed criminal associations with them; for you are influenced by the doctrines of Eusebius, and have thus been led away from truth. But you will be soon restored if, after obtaining a bishop who holds pure and faithful doctrines, you will but look unto God. This depends upon you alone; and you would, no doubt, have thus acted long ago, had not Eusebius come here through his then powerful adherents, and overturned all discipline. As it is necessary to allude to Eusebius, you must remember that I was present at the council held in the city of Nice (to which attendance I was compelled by conscience), and that I was actuated by no other motive than the desire of producing peace among all, and of exploding the errors which originated from the infatuation of Arius, and which have been fostered and increased by the absurd and pernicious wiles of Eusebius. But, beloved and much-honoured brethren, you know not with what assurance Eusebius, although convinced by the testimony of his

own conscience, infamously persevered in the support of false doctrines, both by sending different persons to me to petition on his behalf, and by personally intreating my assistance in preventing his being ejected from his bishopric; although his crimes had been fully detected. God, whom I trust will continue his goodness towards you and towards me, is witness to the truth of what I say. I was then myself deluded and deceived by Eusebius, as you well know. In every thing he acted according to the desire of him whose mind is full of evil. But, omitting the relation of the rest of his misdeeds, it is well that you should be informed of the crime which he perpetrated in concert with Theognis his accomplice. I had sent orders for the apprehension of certain individuals in Alexandria who opposed our faith, and who had excited disturbances. But those good and excellent bishops, who, by the clemency of the council, had been admitted to penitence, not only received them under their protection, but also participated in their evil deeds. Hence I came to the determination of banishing these ungrateful persons to some far distant region. It is now your duty to look unto God with the eyes of faith, even as you have already done, and as it is right that you should do; and let us rejoice that orthodox and philanthropic bishops have been now appointed. If any one should make mention of those destroyers, or presume to speak in their praise, let him know that his audacity will be repressed by the authority which has been committed to me as the servant of God. May God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

The bishops above-mentioned were deposed and banished. Amphio was entrusted with the church of Nicomedia, and Chrestus with that of Nice. But the exiled bishops, with their usual artfulness, abused the benevolence of the emperor, renewed the previous contests, and regained their former power.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ARTFUL MACHINATIONS OF EUSEBIUS AND HIS PARTISANS AGAINST THE HOLY EUSTATHIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

Eusebius, as I have already stated, seized the diocese of Constantinople by force. He acquired great power in that city: he visited, and often familiarly entertained the emperor; and hence he prepared to injure by his artifices those who were foremost in the support of truth. He at first feigned a desire of going to Jerusalem, to see the celebrated edifices there erected: and the emperor, who was deceived by him, allowed him to set out with the utmost honour, granting him the use of the royal carriages, and other privileges. Theognis, bishop of Nice, who, as we have before said, was his accomplice in his evil designs, travelled with him. When they arrived at Antioch, they put on the appearance of friendship, and were received with much honour. Eustathius, the great defender of the faith, treated them with fraternal kindness. When they arrived at the holy city, they had an interview with those who were of the same opinions as themselves, namely, Eusebius,

bishop of Cæsarea, Patrophilius, bishop of Scythopolitamus, Actium, bishop of Lydda, Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea, and others who had imbibed the Arian sentiments; they made known their designs to them, and went with them to Antioch. Their pretext for thus journeying together was, that due honour might be rendered to Eusebius; but their real motive was to attack the truth. They bribed a woman who was a professed prostitute, to say whatever they might desire: they then repaired to the council, and when all the members were assembled, they introduced the wretched woman. She held a babe in her arms, of which she loudly and impudently affirmed that Eustathius was the father. Eustathius, conscious of his innocence, asked her whether she could bring forward any witness to prove what she had advanced. She replied, that she could not: yet these equitable judges received her testimony, although it is said in the law, that by two or three witnesses every word must be established; and although the apostle says, that an accusation is not to be received against an elder unless there be two or three witnesses. But they despised these divine laws, and admitted the accusation against this great man without any witnesses. When the woman had again declared upon oath that Eustathius was the father of the babe, the judges condemned him as an adulterer. The other bishops, who upheld the apostolical doctrines, were ignorant of all these intrigues. They openly opposed the sentence, and advised Eustathius not to submit to it. The originators of the plot promptly repaired to the emperor, and endeavoured to persuade him that the

accusation was true, and the sentence just; and they succeeded in obtaining the banishment of a man of rigid piety, and of great wisdom, as an adulterer and a tyrant. He was conducted across Thebes to a city of Illyria.

CHAPTER XXII.

BISHOPS OF HERETICAL OPINIONS ORDAINED IN ANTIOCH AFTER THE BANISHMENT OF ST. EUSTATHIUS.

Eulalius was first ordained in place of Eustathius. But Eulalius, surviving his elevation only a short period, it was much desired that Eusebius, bishop of Palestine, should be translated to this bishopric. Eusebius, however, refused the appointment, and the emperor forbad its being conferred on him: the dignity, therefore, fell upon Euphonius, who died after a lapse of only one year and a few months, and was succeeded by Flacillus. All these bishops secretly clung to the Arian opinions. Hence it was, that most of those individuals, whether of the clergy or of the laity, who valued religion, left the churches and formed assemblies among themselves. They were called Eustathians, although it was after the banishment of Eustathius that they held their meetings. The wretched woman above-mentioned, was soon after attacked by a severe and protracted illness; and she then avowed the imposture in which she had been engaged, and made known the whole affair, not only to two or three, but to almost all the priests. She confessed that the accusation itself was untrue, but

yet that her oath was not altogether false, as Eustathius the coppersmith was the father of the babe. Such were some of the crimes perpetrated in Antioch by that faction.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS.*

At this period, the light of faith was for the first time shed upon India. The courage and the piety of the emperor had become celebrated throughout the world; and all the barbarians had learnt, that to be at peace with him was more desirable for them than to carry on war against him. Being thus able to undertake other enterprises, many persons set out on long journeys; some for the desire of making discoveries, others from a spirit of commercial enterprise. A philosopher of Tyre about this period, desiring to penetrate into the interior of India, set off for this purpose with his two nephews. When he had accomplished the object of his wishes, he embarked on board a ship to return to his own country. This ship being compelled, by scarcity of water, to touch at a port to obtain a fresh supply, the barbarians fell upon her, drowned some of the crew, and took the others prisoners. The philosopher was among the number of those who were killed. His nephews were conducted to the king. The name of the one was Edesius, and of the other Frumentius. The king of the country perceiving, in course of time, that they possessed talent and sagacity, promoted

* Περὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν πίστεως.

them to the superintendence of his household. If any one should doubt the truth of this account, let him recal to mind the promotion of Joseph in the kingdom of Egypt, and also the history of Daniel, and of the three godly young men, who became princes of Babylon, after having been its captives.

The king died, and was succeeded by his son; and these young men were advanced to still greater power. As they had been brought up in the true religion, some merchants who frequented the country proposed to them to assemble, according to the custom of the Roman church, to perform the divine service. A long time afterwards they solicited the king to reward their services, by permitting them to return to their own country. They obtained his permission, and safely reached the Roman empire, Edesius directing his course towards Tyre. But Frumentius, whose religious zeal was greater than the natural feeling of filial affection, proceeded to Alexandria, and informed the bishop of that city, that the Indians were deeply anxious to obtain spiritual light. Athanasius, who then held the reins of this church, replied by saying, "Who could remove better than you could the gross ignorance of this people, and introduce among them the light of Divine truth?" After having said this, he conferred upon him the sacerdotal dignity, and sent him to preach to those nations. The newly-ordained priest left his country, crossed without fear the intervening sea, and returned to the uncivilized nation among whom, through the grace of God, he cheerfully and successfully laboured. He confirmed the truth of his doctrine by extraordinary

signs, and convinced all gainsayers, performing miracles similar to those of the apostles; and by his instrumentality, many were daily enlightened.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONVERSION OF THE IBERIANS.

Frumentius was the means of communicating the knowledge of God to India. Iberia, about the same time, was taught the way of truth by a captive woman. She devoted herself to prayer: she allowed herself no better bed than a sack spread upon the ground, and accounted fasting her highest enjoyment. This austerity was rewarded by gifts similar to those of the apostles. The barbarians, who were ignorant of medicine, were accustomed, when attacked by disease, to visit each other, in order to ask those who had suffered in a similar way by what means they had been cured; in accordance with this custom, a native woman who had a sick child, repaired to this admirable female, to enquire if she knew of any cure for the disease. The latter took the child, placed it upon her bed, and prayed that it might be healed. Her supplication was heard, and the disease was removed. This extraordinary woman hence obtained great celebrity; and the queen, who was suffering from a severe disease, hearing of her by report, sent for her. The captive held herself in very low estimation, and would not accept the invitation of the queen. But her majesty, in her anxiety to obtain relief from suffering, threw aside her royal dignity,

and went herself to seek the captive woman. The latter made the queen lie down upon her bed, and applied to her disease the efficacious remedy of prayer. The queen was healed, and offered as rewards for so important a service, gold, silver, garments, mantles, and such gifts as royal munificence could bestow. The holy woman told her, that she did not want any of these recompences, and that the greatest reward she desired was to lead her to the knowledge of religion. She then meekly explained the Divine doctrines, and exhorted her to erect a church in honour of Christ who had healed her. The queen then returned to the palace, and excited the admiration of her consort, by relating to him the miraculous mode of her cure; and led him to acknowledge the power of that God whom the captive adored. She besought him not only to seek the knowledge of God, but to erect a church, that all the nation might serve Him. The king praised the miracle which had been performed upon the queen, but he would not consent to erect a church. A short time after he went out hunting, and, by the mercy of God, was converted in the same way as Paul: for a sudden storm arose, and enveloped him in darkness, which did not extend beyond him, for those with him were not deprived of light. He, however, found means to dispel the darkness, for his perplexity led him to the knowledge of the Saviour. His mind reverted to his former unbelief, he implored the help of the God of the captive woman, and immediately the darkness was removed. He then went to the extraordinary captive, and asked her in what way a church ought to

be built. He who once filled Bezaleel with architectural skill, graciously enabled this woman to devise the plan of a church. When she had drawn the plan, the erection of the church was immediately commenced. When the edifice was completed, the roof put on, and every thing supplied except the priests, this admirable woman persuaded the king to send to the Roman empire for teachers of religion. The king accordingly despatched an embassy for the purpose. The emperor Constantine, who was warmly attached to the cause of religion, gladly welcomed the ambassadors when informed of the purport of the embassy. He selected a bishop endowed with great faith, wisdom, and virtue, and presenting him with many gifts, sent him to the Iberians, that he might lead them to the knowledge of God. Not content with having effected so much for Iberia, he was led by his own feelings to protect the Christians in Persia; and, learning that they were persecuted, and that the king treated them with great cruelty, he wrote to him, entreating him to embrace the Christian religion himself, as well as to honour its professors. His own letter will render the subject more intelligible than any description.

CHAPTER XXV.

LETTER WRITTEN BY THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE TO SAPOR, THE KING OF PERSIA, RESPECTING THE CHRISTIANS.

"In preserving the holy faith I enjoy the light of truth, and by following the light of truth I attain to

greater knowledge of the faith. I adhere to that most holy religion which inculcates the recognition and worship of one God. By the powerful protection of that God, I came at first from the furthest boundaries of the ocean, and have now filled the whole empire with hope of deliverance from trouble. All the provinces which were suffering from the oppression of tyrants have been rescued, and their property restored. This I declare to be the work of God. My soldiers believe in this God; they bear his standard, and through him they gain the most famous victories. I confess that God is ever in my mind; that my spirit dwells upon the contemplation of his elevation and glory, and that I simply kneel when I call upon him; shunning the effusion of blood, the odour arising from victims, the light kindled by means of earthly materials, and all the other evil superstitions and awful errors, by means of which the heathen are destroyed: for God does not permit those gifts to be abused which, in his good Providence, he has bestowed upon men for the supply of their wants. He only requires of men purity of mind and a spotless conscience: their virtues and their piety are weighed by Him. He is pleased with modesty and with gentleness; he delights in meekness, and hates those who excite contentions: he loves faith, visits unbelief with chastisement, and takes vengeance upon those who, arrogant of power, are haughty and contumelious. He abases those who are proud, and rewards the humble-minded and the forbearing. He protects those kings who exercise justice, increases their power, and blesses them with peace. I do not deceive my-

self, my brother, when I confess that God is the Ruler and the Father of all men. Many who preceded me upon the imperial throne were so deluded by error as to deny this truth. But their latter end was so dreadful, that they are held up as a fearful warning to deter all others from the commission of similar iniquity. That man was one of them who was driven hence by Divine vengeance like a thunderbolt into your country, where he raised a memorial of his infamy. But the age in which we live is distinguished by the open and manifest punishments which have been inflicted on such persons. I myself have witnessed the end of one of those who had enacted unjust laws against the people who serve God. Hence it is that I more especially thank God for having now, by a peculiar dispensation of his Providence, restored peace to those who observe his law. I am led to expect future happiness and security from the circumstance, that God has in his goodness united all men in the exercise of the one pure and true religion. I rejoice exceedingly to hear that multitudes have become Christians, and that the finest provinces of Persia are honoured with their residence. I hope that they, and you likewise, will be blessed with prosperity in all that concerns you both, and that you may experience the favour and the goodness of the Ruler of the universe. I commend the Christians to your care, and leave them in your protection; treat them, I beseech you, with benevolence. Your fidelity in this respect will be attended by results incalculably beneficial to yourself as well as to us."

This excellent emperor held all who had embraced the true religion in such high estimation, that he not only watched over the believers who resided in his dominions, but also assisted those who were located in other and distant regions. For this reason he was blessed with the special protection of God, so that although his dominions extended throughout Europe, and Africa, and the greater part of Asia, his subjects were all obedient, and attached to his government. All foreign nations recognised his power, some spontaneously, others from having been overcome by him in war. Trophies were erected every where to honour him, and he was universally proclaimed the conqueror: but his praise has been resounded by many other writers. We must resume the thread of our history. This emperor, who deserves the highest fame, devoted his whole mind with zeal worthy of the apostles to ecclesiastical matters, while those who had been admitted to the sacerdotal dignity not only neglected the church, but endeavoured to up-root it from the very foundations. They invented false accusations against all those who most firmly maintained the doctrines taught by the apostles, in order that they might depose and banish them. Their envy was not satisfied by the infamous falsehood which they had circulated against Eustathius, but they had recourse to every artifice to effect the ruin of the other great bulwark of religion. I shall relate these occurrences as concisely as possible.

CHAPTER XXVI.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PLOT FORMED AGAINST THE HOLY ATHANASIUS.

ALEXANDER, that exemplary bishop, who had condemned the blasphemies of Arius, having died five months after the council of Nice, Athanasius was appointed to the church of Alexandria. He had from his youth been instructed in the holy Scriptures; and had attracted general admiration by his faithful discharge of the duties pertaining to each ecclesiastical degree. He had, at the general council, so well defended the doctrines of the apostles, that he obtained the approbation of all who upheld the truth, and excited the enmity of those who opposed it. He had attended the council as one of the retinue of Alexander, for he was then very young, although he was the principal deacon. When those who had denied the only begotten Son of God, heard of his appointment to the bishopric of Alexandria, they thought that his promotion would prove the destruction of their power: they, therefore, resorted to machinations against him. They bribed some of the adherents of Melitus, who had been deposed by the council of Nice, but who had persevered in exciting commotions in Thebes, and in the country round Egypt, and persuaded them to go to the emperor, and to accuse Athanasius before him of having levied a tax upon Egypt, and of having given the proceeds of this taxation to a certain man who was preparing

to usurp the imperial power. The emperor, astonished at this information, sent orders for Athanasius to repair to Constantinople. Upon his arrival he proved that the accusation was false, and was permitted to return to his church, as is shown by a letter on this subject from the emperor to the church of Alexandria. I shall only transcribe the concluding paragraph.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE TO THE ALEXANDRIANS.

"BELIEVE me, my brethren, the wicked were unable to effect any thing against your bishop. They surely could have been actuated by no other design than to make us lose time, and to leave no room for their own repentance in this life. Assist each other, love those who love you; and exert all your power in the expulsion of those who wish to interrupt your concord. Look unto God, and love one another. I joyfully welcomed Athanasius your bishop; and I have conversed with him as with one whom I know to be a man of God."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ANOTHER PLOT AGAINST THE BISHOP ATHANASIUS.

THE calumniators of Athanasius felt no remorse; on the contrary, they devised so bold a fiction against

him, that it surpassed any fable that had been invented by the ancient writers, whether comic or tragic. They again bribed individuals of the same party; and brought them before the emperor, to criminate the virtuous bishop. Amongst them were Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodore, bishop of Perinthus, a city now called Heraclea. After having accused Athanasius of dreadful crimes, which could not then be specified in detail, they persuaded the emperor to convene a council at Cæsarea in Palestine, where Athanasius had many enemies, and to command that his cause should be there tried. The emperor little suspected that bishops could be capable of such duplicity, and was perfectly ignorant of their intrigues; he was, therefore, persuaded by them to act as they desired. But the holy Athanasius, well aware of the malevolence of his enemies, refused to appear at the council. This served as a pretext to those who opposed the truth to criminate him still further; and they accused him before the emperor of contumacy and arrogance. And thus all his hope was frustrated; for the emperor, although exceedingly forbearing, became exasperated by their representations, and wrote to him in an angry manner, commanding him to repair to Tyre where the council was ordered to assemble, because, as I think, the metropolitan bishop of Cæsarea was distrusted by Athanasius. The emperor wrote also to the council in a style consistent with his devoted piety. His letter is as follows.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE TO THE COUNCIL.

"CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to the holy council assembled in Tyre.

"In the general prosperity which distinguishes this period, it seems right that the Catholic Church should likewise be exempt from trouble, and that the servants of Christ should be freed from every annoyance. But as certain individuals, who are instigated by the love of contention, and who lead a life unworthy of their profession, endeavour to excite disorder, which appears to me to be a source of the greatest regret, I beseech you to assemble together, as I know that you yourselves desire, that a council may be convened without delay; so that you may support those who require your assistance, that you may heal the brethren who are afflicted with spiritual maladies, that you may reunite the members of the one body, that you may rectify the disorders of the church while time permits; and that you may restore concord to those provinces which, alas! were thrown into confusion by the arrogance of a few men. I believe every one would admit that you could not perform any thing so pleasing in the sight of God, so conformable to all my desires, as well as to your own; or so conducive to your own honour, as to restore peace. Do not delay, but endeavour with redoubled alacrity to terminate these discussions, with all that sincerity and fidelity which, according to the com-

mand of our Saviour, ought to pervade all our actions. Nothing shall be omitted on my part to further the interests of our religion. I have done all that you recommended in your letters. I have written to those bishops whom you specified, directing them to repair to the council for the purpose of deliberating with you upon ecclesiastical matters. I have also sent Dionysius, one of the consuls, to remind those who are to sit in council with you, of their duty to be zealous in the maintenance of good order in every thing that is transacted. If any one should dare to disobey our command, and refuse to come to the council, which, however, I do not think possible, we must send him into immediate banishment, that he may learn not to oppose the decrees enacted by the emperor for the support of truth. All that now devolves upon your holiness is to judge without partiality or prejudice, to obey the ecclesiastical and apostolical canons, and to devise suitable remedies for the evil which has resulted from error; in order that the church may be freed from all reproach, that my anxiety may be diminished, that peace may be restored, and that your renown may be increased. May your God preserve you, beloved brethren."

The bishops accordingly repaired to the council of Tyre. Amongst them were those who were suspected of holding heterodox doctrines; Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, was one of the accused: the admirable Athanasius also attended. I shall first dwell on the accusation alleged against him, and shall then relate the proceedings of this famous court of justice.

CHAPTER XXX.

COUNCIL OF TYRE.

ARSENIUS was the bishop of the Melitian faction. His partizans put him in a place of concealment, and requested him to remain there. They then cut off the right hand of a corpse, embalmed it, placed it in a wooden coffin, and carried it about every where, declaring that it was the hand of Arsenius, who had been murdered by Athanasius. But the omniscient God did not permit Arsenius to remain long in concealment. It was first rumoured that he had gone to reside in Egypt; then, that he was at Thebes; afterwards he was led by Divine Providence to Tyre, where the hand represented as his had been brought before the council. The friends of Athanasius arrested him, and detained him for a time at an inn.* Early one morning, as soon as the great Athanasius appeared in the council, a woman of loose principles was ushered in: she deposed in a loud and impudent manner that she had vowed perpetual virginity, but that Athanasius, who had lodged in her house, had violated her chastity. The judges of Athanasius commanded him to reply to the deposition against him; but he was silent, as if he had not been Athanasius. Timotheus, however, a presbyter, who had entered the council with the accuser, addressed her in the following terms: "Have I, O woman, ever conversed with you, or have I ever entered your house?" She replied with the utmost effrontery, railed at Timotheus, and, pointing at him

* Καταγωγὴ.

with her finger, she exclaimed, "It was by you that the act of violence was committed upon me;" and she added other indelicate expressions which are used by women destitute of all modesty. Those who had devised this calumny, and the judges who were cognizant of it, were covered with confusion, and the woman was dismissed. Athanasius said that instead of sending her away they ought to ascertain from her the names of those by whom she had been employed; but his accusers replied that he had perpetrated other flagrant crimes, of which it was utterly impossible that he could by any art be exonerated; and that eyes, even without ears, were sufficient to demonstrate his culpability. Having said this, they exhibited the celebrated coffin, and exposed the embalmed hand to view. At this sight, all the spectators uttered a loud cry. Some believed the accusation to be true; the others suspected the falsehood, and thought that Arsenius was lurking somewhere or other in concealment. When at length, after some difficulty, silence was obtained, the accused asked his judges whether any of them knew Arsenius. Several of them replying that they had been intimately acquainted with him, Athanasius gave orders that he should be brought before them. Then he again asked them, whether that was the same Arsenius whom he was accused of having assassinated, and of having afterwards insulted, by cutting off his right hand. When they had confessed that it was the same individual, Athanasius raised both the sides of his cloak, so as to display his two hands, and said, "No man has received more than two hands from the Creator." The calumniators and

the judges who were privy to the crime, instead of hiding themselves, or praying that the earth might open and engulph them, raised an uproar and commotion in the assembly, and declared that Athanasius was a sorcerer, and that he had by his magical incantations bewitched the eyes of men. They strove to tear him in pieces, and to kill him, although only a short time previously they had condemned him on a charge of murder. But those whom the emperor had entrusted with the preservation of order, saved the life of Athanasius by dragging him away from them, and hurrying him on board a ship. When he was presented to the emperor, he described all the stratagems which had been employed against him. The calumniators sent bishops attached to their faction into Mareota. Theognis, bishop of Nice, Theodore, bishop of Perinthus, Maris, bishop of Chalcedonia, Narcissus, bishop of Cilicia, with others of the same sentiments, were selected for this purpose. Mareota is situated near Alexandria, and derives its name from the lake Mareotis. Here they invented other falsehoods, renewed their former artifices, and framed groundless accusations, which they caused to be laid before the emperor.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM.—BANISHMENT OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

All the bishops who were present at the council of Tyre were commanded by the emperor to proceed to

Jerusalem, to consecrate the church which he had there erected. The piety and faithfulness of the excellent ruler became conspicuous by his liberality in granting abundant supplies of provisions, not only to the bishops and their followers, but to the vast multitudes who flocked from all parts to Jerusalem. Around the holy altar was a curtain belonging to the emperor, richly adorned with gems and gold. When the dazzling festival was concluded, each bishop returned to his own diocese. The emperor was highly gratified when informed of the splendour and magnificence displayed on the occasion, and blessed the Author of all good for having granted his petition. Athanasius went to him to complain of his unjust condemnation, and at his request the culpable bishops were commanded to repair to the court. Upon their arrival, they desisted from urging any of their former calumnies, because they knew how clearly they could be refuted; but they made it appear that Athanasius had threatened to prevent the exportation of corn. The emperor believed what they said, and banished him to a city of Gaul called Treves. This occurred in the thirtieth year of the emperor's reign.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WILL OF THE BLESSED EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

A YEAR and a few months subsequently (A.D. 337), the emperor was taken ill at Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia. Being thus led to reflect on the uncertainty of human life, he received the holy rite of baptism,

which he had intended to have deferred until he could be baptised in the river Jordan. He settled the succession to the imperial throne upon his three children, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. He enacted that the great Athanasius should return to Alexandria, and expressed this decision in the presence of Eusebius, who used every argument to dissuade him.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

APOLOGY FOR CONSTANTINE.

It ought not to excite astonishment that Constantine was so far deceived as to send so many great men into exile; for he believed the assertions of bishops, who skilfully concealed their malice under the appearance of illustrious qualities. Those who are acquainted with the Sacred Scriptures know that the holy David, although he was a prophet, was deceived; and that too not by a priest, but by one who was a menial, a bondsman, and a profligate: for Ziba, I say, deluded the king by falsehoods against Mephibosheth, and thus obtained his land. It is not to condemn the prophet that I thus speak; I only propose to defend the emperor, to show the weakness of human nature, and to teach that implicit belief should not be given to those who advance accusations, even though they may appear to deserve it; but that the other party ought also to be heard, and that attention ought to be given to the statements of the accused. However, the emperor was translated from his earthly dominions to a better kingdom.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE END OF THE HOLY EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

The body of the emperor was enclosed in a golden coffin, and was carried to Constantinople by the governors of the provinces, the military commanders, and the other officers of state, preceded and followed by the armies, all bitterly deploring their loss; for Constantine had been as an affectionate father to them all. The body of the emperor was allowed to remain in the palace until the arrival of his sons; the honours then rendered to him require no description here, as a full account has been given by other writers. From their works, which are easy of access, may be learnt how greatly the Ruler of all honours his faithful servants. If any one should be tempted to unbelief, let him look at what occurs near the tomb and the statue of Constantine, and then he must admit the truth of what God has said in the Scriptures, "I will honour those who have honoured me, and those who have despised me shall be despised."

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.—CHAPTER I.

RETURN OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

Athanasius returned to Alexandria, after having remained two years and four months at Treves. Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine the Great, whose imperial sway extended over Gaul, wrote the following letter to the church of Alexandria.

CHAPTER II.

EPISTLE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, THE SON OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, TO THE ALEXANDRIANS.

"Constantine Cæsar to the members of the Catholic Church of Alexandria.

"I think that you cannot have forgotten how Athanasius, the interpreter of the venerated law, was sent for a time into Gaul, on account of the sanguinary designs of his enemies, lest he should fall a sacrifice to the cruelty of those evil men. To avoid this imminent peril, he was directed to remain in a city under my jurisdiction, where he was abundantly supplied with every necessary, but the greatness of his virtue, supported as it was by the grace of God, led him to despise all the calamities of adverse fortune. Constantine, my lord and my father, of blessed memory, intended to have reinstated him in his former bishopric, and to have restored him to

you; but as he was arrested by the hand of death before his desires were accomplished, I, being his heir, must carry them into execution. You will learn from your bishop himself with how much respect I have acted towards him. Nor indeed is it surprising that he should have been thus treated by me; I was incited to this line of conduct by perceiving his great virtue, and the love evinced by you towards him. May Divine Providence watch over you, beloved brethren!"

According to the directions contained in this letter, St. Athanasius returned from exile; he was most gladly welcomed both by the rich and by the poor, by the inhabitants of cities, and by those of the provinces. Hence Eusebius, Theognis, and those of their faction resorted to their former machinations, and endeavoured to prejudice the young emperor against him. I shall now proceed to relate in what manner Constantius swerved from the doctrines of the Apostles.

CHAPTER III.

DECLENSION OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS FROM THE TRUE FAITH.

Constantia,* the widow of Licinius, was the sister of Constantine. She was intimately acquainted with a certain priest who had imbibed the doctrines of Arius. He did not openly acknowledge his heterodoxy; but, in the frequent conversations which he had with her, he did not refrain from declaring that Arius had been unjustly calumniated. After the

* Constantia died A. D. 329.

death of her ungodly husband, the renowned Constantine did every thing in his power to solace and comfort her. He attended her also in her last illness, and rendered her every service which she could desire. She then presented the priest whom I mentioned to the emperor, and entreated him to receive him under his protection. Constantine acceded to her request, and soon after fulfilled his promise. But though the priest was permitted the utmost freedom, and was advanced to a most honourable office, yet he always concealed his corrupt principles, being well aware of the firmness with which the emperor adhered to the truth. When Constantine was on the point of being translated to a higher and an eternal kingdom, he drew up a will, in which he directed that his dominions should be divided among his children. None of them were with him when he was dying, so he entrusted the will to the priest alone, and desired him to give it to Constantius, who, being at a shorter distance from the spot than his brothers, was expected to arrive the first. Accordingly, upon the arrival of Constantius, the priest presented the will to him; and he thus obtained his favour, and was commanded to visit him frequently. Perceiving the weakness of Constantius, whose mind could only be compared to reeds driven to and fro by the wind, he became emboldened to attack the doctrines of the gospel. He loudly deplored the troubles of the church, and asserted that they were all produced by those who had appended the unscriptural word "consubstantial"* to the confession of faith, and

* Ὁμοούσιος.

that all the disputes among the clergy and the laity had been occasioned by them. He calumniated Athanasius and all who coincided in his opinions, and formed designs for their destruction. He had for his accomplices, Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodore, bishop of Perinthus.* The latter, who went generally by the name of Heracleotes, was a man of great erudition, and had written an exposition of the holy Scriptures. These bishops resided near the emperor, and frequently visited him; they assured him that the return of Athanasius from banishment had occasioned many evils, and had excited a tempest by which not only Egypt, but also Palestine, Phœnicia, and the adjacent countries, had been shaken.

CHAPTER IV.

SECOND EXILE OF ST. ATHANASIUS.—ORDINATION AND DEATH OF GREGORY.

With these and similar arguments, the bishops assailed the weak-minded emperor, and persuaded him to expel Athanasius from his church. But obtaining timely intimation of their design, Athanasius departed towards the west. The partisans of Eusebius had sent false accusations against him to Julius, bishop of Rome. In obedience to the laws of the church, Julius summoned the accusers and the accused to Rome, that the cause might be tried. Athanasius, accordingly, set out for Rome, but the

* A town of Thrace on the Propontis, afterwards called Heraclea.

calumniators refused to go because they saw that their falsehood would inevitably be detected. But perceiving that the flock of Athanasius was left without a pastor, they appointed over it a wolf instead of a pastor. Gregory, for this was his name, surpassed the wild beasts in deeds of cruelty and ferocity, and during six years he grievously oppressed the flock: but at the expiration of that period, he was destroyed by the flock.* Athanasius went to Constantius (Constantine, the eldest brother, having fallen in battle), and complained of the plots laid by the Arians against him, and of their opposition to the apostolical faith. He did not fail to remind him of his father's having attended the general council in person, and of his having confirmed by an express law all the decrees which were there issued. The emperor was excited to emulation by hearing these commendations of his father's zeal. He wrote to his brother exhorting him to preserve inviolate the religion of their father, which ought by right of inheritance to be theirs also; for it was by his piety that Constantine had strengthened his empire, expelled the tyrants of Rome, and subjugated the barbarians. Constans was induced by this letter to summon the bishops from the east and from the west to Sardica, which was a city of Illyria, and the metropolis of Dacia, that they might deliberate on the means of removing the numerous troubles of the church.

* A.D. 349, Tillemont; A.D. 346, Mansi.

CHAPTER V.

PAUL, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Paul, bishop of Constantinople, who faithfully maintained orthodox doctrines, was accused by the Arians of having excited seditions, and of having committed the other crimes which they usually laid to the charge of all those who preached true piety. The people, who feared the machinations of his enemies, would not permit him to go to Sardica. The Arians, taking advantage of the weakness of the emperor, procured from him an edict of banishment against Paul, who was, accordingly, sent to Cucusum, a little town formerly included in Cappadocia, but which now forms part of Lesser Armenia. But these disturbers of the public peace were not satisfied with having driven the admirable Paul into a desert. They sent the agents of their cruelty to dispatch him by a violent death. St. Athanasius testifies to this fact in the defence which he wrote of the flight of Paul. He uses the following words: "They pursued Paul, bishop of Constantinople, and having seized him at Cucusum, a city of Cappadocia, they had him strangled, by order of Philip the pro-consul, who was the protector of their heresy, and the active agent of their most atrocious projects. Such were the murders to which the blasphemy of Arius gave rise. A virulent opposition was raised by this faction against the only begotten Son of God, and his servants were not spared."

CHAPTER VI.

THE HERESY OF MACEDONIUS.

THE Arians, having effected the death of Paul, or rather having despatched him to the kingdom of heaven, gave his bishopric to Macedonius, who, they imagined, held the same sentiments, and belonged to the same faction as themselves, because he also blasphemed the Holy Ghost. But, shortly after, they deposed him, because he refused to call him a creature whom the Holy Scriptures affirm to be the Son of God. After his ejection, he became the leader of a sect of his own. He taught that the Son of God is not of the same substance as the Father, but that he resembles Him in every particular. He also affirmed that the Holy Ghost is a creature. These circumstances occurred not very long ago in the precise manner in which we have narrated them.

CHAPTER VII.

COUNCIL HELD AT SARDICA.

Two hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Sardica (A. D. 347 *al.* 344), as is proved by ancient archives. The great Athanasius, Asclepas bishop of Gaza already mentioned, and Marcellus bishop of Ancyra the metropolis of Galatia who had held this bishopric ever since the council of Nice, all repaired thither. The calumniators, and the chiefs of the Arian faction, who

had judged the cause of Athanasius, also attended. But when they found that the members of the synod were firmly attached to divine and sound doctrines, they would not even enter the council, although they had been summoned to it; and they fled from the city in much trepidation. All these circumstances are far more clearly explained in a letter drawn up by the council; and I shall therefore now insert it.

CHAPTER VIII.

SYNODICAL LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS ASSEMBLED AT SARDICA, ADDRESSED TO THE OTHER BISHOPS.

"THE holy council assembled at Sardica, from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Campania, Calabria, Africa, Sardinia, Pannonia, Mœsia, Dacia, Dardania, Lesser Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Thrace, Rhodope, Asia, Caria, Bithynia, the Hellespont, Phrygia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Pontus, another Phrygia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lydia, the Cyclades, Egypt, Thebes, Lybia, Galatia, Palestine and Arabia, to the bishops throughout the world, our fellow-ministers in the catholic and apostolic church, and our beloved brethren in the Lord. Peace be unto you.

"The infatuation of the Arians has often led them to the perpetration of violent atrocities against the faithful servants of God; they introduce false doctrines themselves, and persecute those who uphold orthodox principles. So violent was their opposition to the faith, that it reached the ears of our beloved emperors. Through the grace of God, the emperors

have summoned us from different provinces and cities to the holy council which they have appointed to be held in the city of Sardica, in order that all dissensions may be terminated, all evil doctrines repressed, and the religion of Christ alone established amongst all people. Some bishops from the east have attended the council at the solicitation of our most religious emperors, principally on account of the reports circulated against our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. Perhaps the Arians have already tried to make you believe their groundless accusations of the innocent, and no doubt have endeavoured to prevent any suspicion being excited in your mind of the depraved heresy which they uphold: but they have not long been permitted so much freedom of action. The Lord is the Protector of the church; for it and for us all he suffered death, and opened for us the way to heaven.

"The adherents of Eusebius, Maris, Theodore, Theognis, Ursacius, Valens, Menophantes, and Stephen, have frequently written to Julius, the bishop of Rome, and our fellow-minister, against our aforesaid fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. Some other bishop wrote to Julius, testifying the innocence of Athanasius, and proving that all that had been asserted by the partisans of Eusebius was nothing more than falsehood and calumny. The refusal of the Arians to obey the summons of our beloved brother and fellow-ruler,

Julius, and also the letter written by that bishop, clearly prove the falseness of their accusation. For they would have gone to Rome had they believed that what they had done and represented against our fellow-minister admitted of justification. But their mode of procedure in that great and holy council is a manifest proof of their fraud. For when, upon their arrival at Sardica, they perceived that our brethren, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, and others, were there also, they were afraid of entering the council, although they had been summoned to attend it, not once or twice only, but repeatedly; and although they were expected by the assembled bishops, who were all worthy of honour and respect, particularly the venerable Hosius, on account of his advanced age, his adherence to the faith, and his labours in the church. Their refusal to attend the council, and their ignominious flight from it, prove more forcibly than any arguments the inaccuracy of their representations, and the duplicity of their designs.

"Those who are confident of the truth of their assertions, are always ready to avow them openly. But as these accusers would not appear to substantiate what they had advanced, any future allegations which they may by their usual artifices bring against our fellow-ministers, will only be regarded as proceeding from a desire of slandering them in their absence, not daring to confront them openly. They fled, beloved brethren, not only because they dared not avow their own calumnies, but also because they knew that they could not refute the accusations which would be brought against them. They were charged with

having used chains, and the sword, as the engines of their cruelty. Several individuals were present whom they had exiled: others came forward as deputies from those still kept in exile. The relations and friends of those whom they had put to death also attended: and what was of most importance, bishops also appeared against them; one of whom exhibited the irons and the chains with which they had bound him. There were also witnesses to testify that the death of many others had been occasioned by their calumnies. Their infatuation led them to such excesses that they even attempted the life of a bishop; and he would have fallen a sacrifice to their fury, had he not escaped from their hands. Theodulos, our fellow-minister, of blessed memory, died while striving to make his escape from them; for, on account of their calumnies, he had been condemned to death. Some showed the wounds which the swords of these persecutors had inflicted on them; others deposed that they had been exposed to the torments of famine.

"All these depositions were made, not by a few obscure individuals, but by whole churches; the presbyters of these churches clearly proving that the persecutors had excited the military against their enemies, that they had armed the people for the same purpose, and that they endeavoured to terrify them into subjection by judicial threats, and by the production of spurious documents.

"Letters were read which had been written by Theognis, for the purpose of prejudicing the emperor against our fellow-ministers, Athanasius, Mar-

cellus, and Asclepas. This was attested by those who had formerly been the deacons of Theognis. It was also proved that they had denuded virgins, burnt churches, and imprisoned our fellow-ministers, and all for no other purpose than to support the infatuated principles of Arianism, and to take vengeance on those who refused to be associated with them. The consciousness of having committed all these crimes threw them into great perplexity. Intent upon concealing their culpability, they repaired to Sardica, thinking that their boldness in venturing thither would efface all suspicion of their guilt. But when they perceived that those whom they had falsely accused, and also those who had suffered much from their cruelty, were present; and that likewise several had come forward with various irrefragable accusations against them, they would not enter the council, although our fellow-ministers, Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, took every means to induce them to attend; proposing not only to prove the fraudulency of the accusations they had advanced, but also to demonstrate the truth of those which were laid to their charge, and likewise to show how deeply they had injured their churches. But they were so utterly overwhelmed by the terrors of conscience, that they took to flight, and by this flight was clearly proved the falsity of their accusations, as well as their own guilt. But though their calumny and perfidy, which had indeed been apparent from the beginning, were now clearly perceived, yet we determined to examine the circumstances of the case according to the laws of truth, lest they should, from

their very flight, derive pretexts for renewed acts of deceitfulness.

"Upon carrying this resolution into effect, we proved by their actions that they were calumniators, and that they had formed artful designs against our fellow-ministers. Arsenius, whom they declared had been put to death by Athanasius, is still living. This fact alone is sufficient to show that their other allegations are false. Although they spread a report every where that a chalice had been broken by Macarius, one of the presbyters of Athanasius, yet those who came from Alexandria, from Mareota, and from other places, testified that this was not the fact; and the bishops in Egypt wrote to Julius, our fellow-minister, declaring that there were no data for harbouring the least suspicion that such a deed had been committed.

"The memorials which the Arians pretend to possess against Macarius, have been all drawn up by one party: and in these documents the depositions of Pagans and of Catechumens were included. One of these Catechumens, when interrogated, replied, that he was in the church when Macarius entered it. Another deposed that Ischeras, on whom they had conferred so much celebrity, was then lying ill in his cell. Hence it appears that the mysteries could not have been celebrated at that time, as the Catechumens were present, and as Ischeras was absent; for he was at that very time confined by illness. Ischeras, that wicked man who had falsely affirmed that Athanasius had burnt the sacred books, and had been convicted of the crime, now confessed that he was ill in bed

when Macarius arrived; hence the fraudulency of his accusation was clearly demonstrated. His calumny was, however, rewarded by his party; for he was made a bishop, although previously he had not even been raised to the priesthood. For two presbyters, who some time back had lived with Melitius, and were afterwards received by the blessed Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and who are now with Athanasius, protested that he had never been ordained as an elder, and that Melitius had never ruled the church nor exercised any ministry in Mareota. Yet, although he had never been ordained as an elder, they promoted him to a bishopric, in order that his title might, by imposing upon the imaginations of those who heard it, lead to the reception of his false accusations.

"The writings of our fellow-minister, Marcellus, were also read, and plainly evinced the duplicity of the adherents of Eusebius; for what Marcellus had simply suggested as a point of inquiry, they affirmed that he had laid down as an established principle. The arguments which he had advanced, before and after the inquiry were read, and his faith was proved to be orthodox. He did not affirm, as they represented, that the origin of the Word of God was dated from the conception of the holy Mary, or that his kingdom would have an end. On the contrary, he wrote that his kingdom had had no beginning, and would have no end. Asclepas, our fellow-minister, produced the memorials drawn up at Antioch in the presence of the accusers, and of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea: and proved his innocence by the sentence of the bishops who had presided as judges. It was

not then without cause, beloved brethren, that, although so frequently summoned, they would not attend the council; it was not without reason that they took to flight. The reproaches of conscience constrained them to make their escape, and thus, at the same time, to demonstrate the groundlessness of their calumnies, and the truth of those accusations which were advanced and proved against them. Besides all the other grounds of complaint, it may be added that all those who had been accused of holding the Arian heresy, and had been ejected in consequence, were not only received, but advanced to the highest dignities by them. They raised deacons to the office of the presbytery; and the presbyters who had been deposed, they promoted to the dignity of bishops; and in all this they were actuated by no other motive than the desire of propagating their heresy, and of corrupting the faith.

"Next to Eusebius, the following are their principal leaders, Theodore, bishop of Heraclea, Narcissus, bishop of Neroniades in Cilicia, Stephen, bishop of Antioch, George, bishop of Laodicea, Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, Menophantes, bishop of Ephesus in Asia, Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Mœsia, and Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia. All these bishops would not permit those who came with them from the east to attend the holy council, nor to join the Church of God; for, while on their road to Sardica, they held private assemblies at different places, and formed a compact cemented by oaths, that when they arrived in Sardica they would not join the holy council, nor assist at its deliberations; but that, as

soon as they had presented themselves, they would immediately make their escape by flight. These facts were made known to us by our fellow-ministers, Macarius, bishop of Palestine, and Asterius, bishop of Arabia, who came with them to Sardica, and have since been converted from infidelity. These bishops complained before the holy council of the violent treatment they had received from them, and of the want of correct principles evinced in all their actions. They added, that there were many amongst them who still held orthodox opinions, but that these were prevented from going to the council; and that sometimes threats, and sometimes promises were resorted to, in order to retain them in that party. For this reason they were compelled to reside together in one house; and were never allowed, even for the shortest space of time, to be alone.

"It is not right to pass over in silence and without mention, the calumnies, the imprisonments, the murders, the wounds, the insidious letters, the indignities, the denudation of virgins, the banishments, the destruction of churches, the acts of incendiarism, the translation of bishops from small towns to large dioceses, and above all, the opposition to the true faith excited by the Arian heresy. On account then of all these crimes we have to declare the innocence and purity of our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, and of all the other servants of God who are with them; and we have written to every diocese, in order that the people of each church may

be made acquainted with the innocence of their respective bishops, and that they may anticipate their return, knowing that they have really the charge over them, while those who took possession of their churches are to be considered only as wolves. Among these latter may be instanced Gregory in Alexandria, Basil in Ancyra, and Quintius in Gaza. We added, that so far from looking up to those persons as bishops, the people are not even to call them Christians, nor to have any association with them, that they are not to receive any letters from them, nor to write to them.

"Theodore, bishop of Heraclea in Europe, Narcissus, bishop of Neroniades in Cilicia, Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, Stephen, bishop of Antioch, Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Mœsia, Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, Menophantes, bishop of Ephesus, and George, bishop of Laodicea, were ejected from their bishoprics by the unanimous decision of the holy council: for though fear kept them back from leaving the East, they had been deposed by the blessed Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, had imbibed the infatuation of the Arians, and had been charged with various crimes. We have decreed that they are unworthy not only of the episcopal dignity, but also of communion with us. For those who represent the Son as separated from the substance* and divinity of the Father, and the Word as differing from the Father, ought to be separated from the Catholic Church, and be estranged from all who bear the name of Christians. Let them then be anathema to you, and to all the faithful, because they have

* Οὐσία.

corrupted the word of truth. For there is an apostolical precept which enjoins, that if any one should bring to you another gospel than that which ye have received, 'let him be accursed.'* Command that no one may hold communion with them; for light can have no fellowship with darkness. Avoid coming in contact with them; for what concord has Christ with Belial? Be careful, beloved brethren, that you neither write to them nor receive their letters. Endeavour, beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, to be present with us in Spirit at the council, and give your hearty consent to what is enacted, while you affix your written signature, in order that unanimity of opinion may be established among all our fellow-ministers throughout the world. We declare that those are to be excommunicated from the Catholic Church who say that Christ is God, but not the true God; that he is the Son, but not the true Son; and that he is both begotten and unbegotten;† for such persons understand the term 'begotten' to signify, they say, that which has been made. And although the Son of God existed before all ages, they attribute to him a beginning and an end, and yet admit that he existed before all time.

"Valens and Ursacius have, like two vipers brought forth by an asp, proceeded from the Arian heresy. For they boastingly declare themselves to be most undoubted Christians, and yet they affirm that the Word and the Holy Ghost were both crucified and slain, and that they died and rose again; and they pertinaciously maintain, like the heretics, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are of diverse

* Gal. i. 8. † Γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος.

and distinct hypostases. We have been taught, and we hold the catholic and apostolic tradition and faith and confession which teach, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one hypostasis,* which is termed essence† by the heretics. If it were asked, 'What is the nature of the Son?' we should confess, that it is the same as that of the Father; for the Father has never been, nor could ever be, without the Son, nor the Son without the Father. It is most absurd to affirm that the Father ever existed without the Son, for that this could never be the case has been testified by the Son himself, who said, 'I am in the Father, and the Father in me' (John xiv. 10); and 'I and the Father are one' (John x. 30). We cannot deny that he was begotten; but we say that he was begotten before all things, whether visible or invisible; and that he is the Creator of archangels and angels, and of the worlds, and of the human species. It is written, 'The wisdom which made all things has taught me;' and again, 'All things were made by him' (John i.).

"As the Word is said to have always existed, it is plain that He could have had no commencement; for if he had had a beginning, he could not have always existed. God will never have an end. We do not say that the Father is the Son, nor that the Son is the Father; but that the Father is the Father, and that the Son is the Son of the Father. We confess that the Son is the Power of the Father. We confess that the Son is the Word of God the Father, and that beside him there is no other. We believe the Word to be the true God, as well as wisdom and power.

* Ὑπόστασις. † Οὐσία.

We affirm that he is truly the Son, yet not in the way in which men are said to be sons: for they are said to be the sons of God on account of their regeneration, or of their merit, and not on account of their being of one hypostasis with the Father, as is the Son. We confess that he is the only begotten Son; for he has always been and always is in the Father. He is the Firstborn with respect to human nature. He differs from those who have received the new birth, inasmuch as he is the Firstborn from the dead. We confess that there is but one God, and that the divinity of the Father and of the Son is one. No one can deny that the Father is greater than the Son: this superiority does not arise from any difference in their nature, nor indeed from any diversity existing between them, but simply from the name of the Father being greater than that of the Son.

"The following words uttered by our Lord, 'I and the Father are one,' are by some persons explained as referring to the concord and harmony which prevail between the Father and the Son; but this is a blasphemous and perverse interpretation. So far as we are Catholics, we have condemned this foolish and lamentable opinion: for just as mortal men sometimes quarrel and afterwards are reconciled, so do such interpreters infer that disputes and dissension are liable to arise between God the Father Almighty and his Son; a supposition which is altogether absurd and untenable. But we believe and maintain that those holy words, 'I and the Father are one,' point out the oneness of the hypostasis, and the unity of the

Father and of the Son. We also believe that the Son reigns with the Father, that his reign has neither beginning nor end, and that it is not bounded by time, nor subject to any contingencies: for what has always existed can never have commenced, and can never terminate. We recognise and we receive the Holy Ghost the Comforter, whom the Lord promised to send, and whom we believe has been sent. It was not the Holy Ghost who suffered. He who suffered was the Christ, who took the nature of man, and was born of the Virgin Mary. As man, He was capable of suffering; for man is mortal, whereas God is immortal. We believe that on the third day the man rose in God, but that God did not rise in the man; and that Christ presented the human nature which he had delivered from sin and corruption as a gift to the Father. We believe that in his own appointed time, He will judge all men and all their actions. So great is the ignorance and mental darkness of those whom we have mentioned, that they are unable to see the light of truth. They cannot comprehend the meaning of the following words: 'that they may be one in us.' It is obvious why the word 'one' was used; it was because the apostles received the Holy Spirit of God: yet there were none amongst them who were the Holy Ghost, neither was there any one of them who was the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, or the only begotten Son. 'As Thou,' He said, 'and I are one, so let them be one in us.' These holy words 'that they may be one in us,' are strictly accurate: for the Lord did not say, 'Let them be one in the same way that I and the Father are one,' but he said,

'Let the disciples be united together, and be one in faith, in doctrine, in the grace of God the Father, and in the love of our Lord Christ.'"

From this letter may be learnt the duplicity of the calumniators, and the injustice of the former judges, as well as the sound doctrines of those who attended the council. These holy fathers have taught us, not only truths respecting the Divine nature, but also doctrines relating to the redemption of man. Constans was much concerned on hearing of the weakness of his brother, and was highly incensed against those who had artfully taken advantage of it. He chose two of the bishops who had attended the council of Sardica, and sent them with letters to his brother; he also despatched Salian, a military chief who was celebrated for his piety and integrity, on the same embassy. The letters which he forwarded by them, and which were worthy of himself, contained not only entreaties and counsels, but also menaces. In the first place, he requested his brother to attend to all that the bishops might say, and to take cognizance of the crimes of Stephen and of his accomplices. He also required him to restore Athanasius to his flock; the calumny of the accusers and the injustice and impiety of his former judges having become evident. He added, that if he would not accede to his request, and perform this act of justice, that he would himself go to Alexandria, restore Athanasius to his flock which earnestly longed for him, and expel all opponents.

Constantius was at Antioch when he received this

letter; and he agreed to submit to all his brother's requisitions. But the enemies of the truth were so much displeased at this proceeding, that they resorted to execrable and impious machinations.

The two bishops resided near the foot of a mountain, while the military commander had settled in a lodging in another quarter.

CHAPTER IX.

ACCOUNT OF THE BISHOPS EUPHRATAS AND VINCENTIUS, AND OF THE PLOT FORMED AGAINST THEM.

At this period Stephen governed the church of Antioch, and had well nigh effected its destruction; for he employed several audacious tyrants as his ministers, who persecuted all those who maintained orthodox doctrines. The principal of these ministers was a young man of a rash and enterprising temperament, who led a very infamous life. He not only dragged away men from the market-place, and treated them with indignity and insult, but he had the audacity to enter private houses, whence he carried off men and women of irreproachable character. But not to give a detailed relation of his crimes, I shall merely mention his daring conduct towards the bishops; for this circumstance is alone sufficient to give an idea of the unlawful deeds of violence which he perpetrated against the citizens. He went to a courtesan, and told her that some strangers had just arrived, who desired to pass the night with her. He placed fifteen men attached to his faction, in ambush near a hedge

close to the bottom of the mountain. He then went for the courtesan. After giving a preconcerted signal, they were admitted through the gate of the court-yard belonging to the inn where the bishops were lodging. The doors were opened by one of the household servants, who had been bribed by him: he conducted the woman into the house, and pointed out to her the door of the room occupied by one of the bishops, and desired her to enter. He then went to summon his accomplices. The door which he had pointed out happened to be that Euphratas the elder bishop, whose room was situated near the vestibule. Vincentius, the other bishop, occupied a chamber more towards the centre of the house. When the courtesan entered the room of Euphratas, he heard the sound of her footsteps, and he asked who was there, for it was then dark. She spoke to him, and Euphratas was much troubled: he thought that it was the devil imitating the voice of a woman, and he called upon Christ the Saviour for aid. Onager, for this was the name of the leader of this wicked band (a name* peculiarly appropriate to him, as not only with his hands but with his feet he violently assaulted all the pious), had in the meantime returned with his lawless crew; they loudly denounced as criminal all who expected future benefits from criminal judges. The noise aroused Vincentius and all the servants; they arose, and ran to the spot whence it proceeded. They closed the gate of the courtyard, and captured seven of the adversaries; but Onager with the others escaped by flight. The woman was

* Ὄναγρος, *wild ass.*

committed to custody with those who had been seized. At the break of day the bishops apprised the military commander of what had occurred, and they all three proceeded together to the palace, to complain of the violence of Stephen; they stated that his guilt was so evident that no recourse either to law or to torture was requisite to prove it. The military commander loudly demanded of the emperor, that the atrocious act should not be brought before a synod, but that it should be left to the arbitration of the public court of justice. He offered to give up the clergy attached to the bishops to be first examined, provided that the agents of Stephen were subjected to the same course of interrogatories: but to this Stephen insolently objected, alleging that the clergy ought not to be examined by torture. The emperor and the principal persons present, decided that it would be better to judge the cause in the palace. The woman was first of all questioned; she was asked by whom she was conducted to the inn where the bishops were lodging. She replied, that a young man came to her, and told her that some strangers had arrived, who were desirous of her company, and that in the evening he conducted her to the inn; that he summoned his band of soldiers, led her into the house, and desired her to go into the chamber adjoining the vestibule. She added, that the bishop asked who was there, that he was much terrified, and that he began to pray; and that then others ran to the spot.

CHAPTER X.

DEPOSITION OF STEPHEN.

After the judges had heard these replies, they ordered the youngest of those who had been arrested to be brought before them. Before he was subjected to the examination by scourging, he confessed the whole plot, and stated that it was planned and carried into execution by Onager. This latter affirmed that he had only acted according to the commands of Stephen. The guilt of Stephen being thus demonstrated, all those who were present at the trial desired the bishops to depose him, and expel him from the church. By his expulsion the church was not, however, freed from the evils of Arianism. Leontius, who succeeded him in his bishopric, was a Phrygian of so subtle and artful a disposition, that he might be said to resemble the sunken rocks of the sea. We shall presently narrate more concerning him. The emperor Constantius, finding by experience what plots were formed against the bishops, wrote to the great Athanasius three different times, exhorting him to return from the West. I shall here insert the second letter, because it is the shortest of the three.

CHAPTER XI.

CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS THE CONQUEROR TO ATHANASIUS.

"Although I have already apprised you by previous letters, that you can, without fear of molest-

ation, return to our court, that you may, according to my ardent desire, be reinstated in your own bishopric, yet I now again despatch another letter to you, to exhort you to take immediately, without fear or suspicion, a public vehicle and return to us, in order that you may receive all that you desire."

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND RETURN OF ST. ATHANASIUS FROM EXILE.

When Athanasius returned, Constantius received him with kindness, and restored to him his former authority over the church of Alexandria. But there were some attached to the court who were infected with the errors of Arianism; and they suggested that Athanasius ought to cede one church to those who were unwilling to hold communion with him. On this being mentioned to the emperor, he interrogated Athanasius on the subject. Athanasius replied, that the imperial command appeared to be just; but that he also wished to make a request. The emperor readily promising to grant him whatever he might ask, he begged that a church might be given to those in Antioch who objected to hold communion with the members of the principal church; for justice required that a place of worship should also be given to them. This request was deemed just and reasonable by the emperor; but those of the Arian faction prevented its being carried into execution, alleging that churches ought not to be supplied to different parties. Constantius, after having had cause to regard Athanasius

with high admiration, sent him to Alexandria. Gregory was dead, and Athanasius was received with joy. Public festivals were celebrated in honour of the pastor, and in commemoration of his return, and thanks were rendered to God. The death of Constans occurred a short time subsequently.

CHAPTER XIII.

THIRD EXILE AND FLIGHT OF ATHANASIUS.

Those who had obtained entire ascendancy over the mind of Constantius, reminded him that Athanasius had been the cause of differences between him and his brother, which had nearly led to the rupture of the bonds of nature, and the kindling of a civil war. Constantius was induced by these representations not only to banish, but also to condemn the holy Athanasius to death; and he accordingly despatched Sebastian, a military commander, with some of the soldiery to slay him, as if he had been a criminal. The manner in which he escaped from the soldiers, avoiding this imminent danger by flight, is best narrated by himself. The following is the account which he gives in his apology for his flight:—"Let the mode of my retreat be investigated, and let the testimony of the opposite faction be collected. Some Arians accompanied the soldiers, as much for the purpose of urging them on, as of pointing me out to them. If the relation I am about to make do not excite their commiseration, it will, at least, render them ashamed. It was night, and some of the people

were keeping watch, and awaiting the hour for the meeting of the assembly. An army suddenly advanced upon them, consisting of a general and five thousand armed men with naked swords, bows and arrows, and clubs, as I have already stated. The general ordered the soldiers to surround the church, in order that those who might be in it might be prevented from leaving it. I imagined that I ought not in such a time of perplexity to leave the people, but that I ought rather for their sake to meet the danger; so I remained on my seat, and desired the deacon to read a psalm, and the people to respond, 'His mercy endureth throughout all ages;' after which, I directed that they should all return to their own houses. But the general with the soldiery forced their way into the church, and surrounded the altar in order to arrest me; the clergy and the laity who had remained, clamorously besought me to make my escape. I firmly refused to do so until all the others had retreated. I rose, had a prayer offered, and directed all the people to retire; 'It is better,' said I, 'for me to meet the danger alone, than that any of our people should experience the least injury.' When the greater number of the people had left the church, and just as the rest were following, the monks and some of the clergy who had remained led me out. And I testify as before the Lord who led me and who protected me, that we passed through the midst of the soldiers, some of whom were stationed around the altar, and others were marching about the church. We thus went out unperceived, and fervently glorified

God that we had not abandoned the people, but that after they had been sent away in safety, we were permitted to escape from the hands of those who sought our life."

CHAPTER XIV.

EVIL AND DARING DEEDS COMMITTED BY GEORGE IN ALEXANDRIA.

Athanasius having thus escaped from the cruelty of his sanguinary adversaries, George, who was truly another wolf, was entrusted with the superintendence of the flock. He inflicted on the sheep cruelties more atrocious than would have been perpetrated by a wolf, a bear, or a leopard. He compelled young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, not only to disown the communion of Athanasius, but also to condemn the faith of the fathers. The agent in his cruelty was Sebastian the military chief. He ordered a fire to be kindled in the centre of the city, and placed the virgins, who were stripped entirely naked, close to it, commanding them to deny the faith. Although they formed a most sorrowful and pitiable spectacle for believers as well as for unbelievers, they considered that all these dishonours conferred the highest honour on them; and they joyfully received the blows inflicted on them on account of their faith. All these facts are more clearly narrated by their own pastor.

About the period of the year termed Quadragesima, George returned from Cappadocia, and greatly added

to the evils which had been already perpetrated. After the Easter week virgins were cast into prison, bishops were bound and dragged away by the soldiers, the houses of widows and of orphans were pillaged, and the Christians were, during the darkness of night, seized and torn away from their dwellings. Seals were fixed on many houses. The brethren of the clergy became uneasy on their account. These cruelties were very atrocious, but still more so were those which were subsequently perpetrated. The week following the holy festival of Pentecost, the people who were keeping a fast assembled in the churchyard to pray that they might be delivered from all communion with George. This wicked man was informed of this circumstance, and he excited Sebastian, the military commander belonging to the Manichean sect, to attack the people; and, accordingly, on the Lord's day he rushed upon them with a large body of armed soldiers wielding naked swords, bows and arrows. He found but a few Christians in the act of praying, for most of them had retired on account of the lateness of the hour. He committed such cruelties as might be expected from one who was acting under the direction of such employers. He ordered a large fire to be lighted, and the virgins to be brought close to it, and then commanded them to declare themselves of the Arian persuasion. When he perceived that they were invincible, he ordered them to be stripped naked, and to be beaten until they became scarcely recognisable. He then seized forty men, and inflicted on them a new species of torture. He ordered them to be scourged with

branches of palm trees; and the thorns were driven so deeply into their flesh, that it was long before they could be extracted by the surgical operations which were afterwards resorted to; and those who were not able to bear the agony died under it. He banished all those who survived, and also the virgins, to the Greater Oasis. He refused to give up the bodies of those who had been killed to their relations for sepulture; his partisans concealed some of these corpses, and others they flung away without a tomb, in order to show that they were unconcerned in these cruel transactions, and ignorant of them. But they were deceived in this foolish expectation: for the friends of the slain, while they rejoiced at the faithfulness of the deceased, deeply lamented the loss of the corpses, and spread abroad a full account of the cruelty that had been perpetrated.

The following bishops were banished from Egypt and from Lybia:—Ammon, Muïus, Caius, Philo, Hermes, Pliny, Psinosis, Nilammon, Agapius, Anagamphus, Mark, Draco, Adelphus, another Ammon, another Mark, and Athenodorus; and also the presbyters, Hierax and Dioscorus. They were all driven into exile in so cruel a manner that many died on the road, and others at the place of their banishment. The persecutors caused the death of more than thirty bishops. For, like Achab, they were actuated by no other zeal than that of banishing the truth, had it been possible.

Athanasius, in a letter addressed to the virgins who were treated with so much barbarity, uses the following words: "Let none of you be grieved on

account of these impious heretics having prohibited the honours of sepulture from being rendered to you. The impiety of the Arians has reached such a height, that they block up the entrances, and sit like so many demons around the places of sepulture in order to prevent the dead from being interred." These and many other similar atrocities, were perpetrated by George in Alexandria.

The holy Athanasius was well aware that there was no place which could be considered as one of safety for him; for the emperor had promised a very large reward to whoever should bring him alive or dead into his presence.

CHAPTER XV.

COUNCIL OF MILAN.

After the death of Constans, Magnentius assumed the chief authority over the Western empire; and, to repress his usurpation, Constantius repaired to Europe. But this war, severe as it was, did not put an end to the war against the church. The Arians, who found it easy to persuade Constantius to take any step which they pleased, and who had accordingly induced him to attach himself to the errors of heresy, now persuaded him to convoke a council at Milan, a city of Italy, and to compel all the assembled bishops to sign the deposition enacted by the iniquitous judges at Tyre; and, as Athanasius had been expelled from the church, to draw up another confession of faith. The bishops repaired to the council on the

receipt of the imperial letter. But they were far from acting according to the directions of the emperor. On the contrary, they told him that what he had commanded was unjust and impious; for this act of courage they were expelled from the church, and banished to the furthest boundaries of the empire.

The admirable Athanasius thus mentions this circumstance in his defence :—" Who can narrate such atrocities as they perpetrated? A short time ago when the churches were in the enjoyment of peace, and just as the people were assembled for prayer, Liberius, bishop of Rome, Paulinus, bishop of the metropolis of Gaul, Dionysius, bishop of the metropolis of Italy, Lucifer, bishop of the metropolis of the Isle of Sardinia, and Eusebius, bishop of one of the cities of Italy, who were all exemplary bishops and preachers of the truth, were seized and driven into exile, for no other cause than because they could not coincide in the Arian heresy, nor sign the false accusation which had been framed against us. It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, that aged and faithful confessor of the faith, for every one knows that he also has been sent into banishment. Of all the bishops he is the most illustrious. What council can be mentioned in which he did not preside, and convince all present by the power of his reasoning? What church does not still enjoy the glorious effects of his ministration? Did any one ever go to him sorrowing, and not leave him rejoicing? Who ever asked his aid, and did not obtain all that he desired? Yet they had the boldness to attack this great man, simply because, from his knowledge of the impiety of

their calumnies, he refused to affix his signature to their artful accusations against us."

From the above narrative will be seen the violence of the Arians against these holy men. Athanasius also gives in the same book an account of the numerous plots formed by the chiefs of the Arian faction against other individuals:—" Did any one," said he, " against whom they had once commenced a series of persecutions, ever escape from them without suffering severe injury? Whose life did they ever seek without eventually subjecting him to the most agonizing death, or else to the mutilation of all his limbs? The executions commanded by the judges are all attributable to these heretics; for the judges are but the agents of their will, and of their malice. Where is there a place which contains no vestiges of their atrocities? If any one ever differed from them in opinion, did they not invariably, like Jezebel, falsely accuse and oppress him? Where is there a church which has not been plunged in sorrow by their subtlety? Antioch has to mourn the loss of Eustathius, that faithful and orthodox bishop. Balana has to lament on account of Euphration; Paltus and Antaradus on account of Cymatius and Carterius. Adrianople was called to deplore the loss of the well-beloved Eutropius, and of Lucius his successor, who was loaded with chains, and expired beneath their weight. Ancyra, Berea, and Gaza had to mourn the absence of Marcellus, Cyrus and Asclepas, who, after having suffered many insults from this deceitful sect, were driven into exile. Some of these heretics were

sent in quest of Theodulus and Olympius, bishops of Thrace, as well as of me and of the presbytery of my diocese; and had they found us, we should no doubt have been put to death. But at the very time that they were planning our destruction we effected our escape, although they had sent letters to Donas, the proconsul, against Olympias, and to Philagrius against us."

Such were the crimes of this impious faction against the most holy Christians. Hosius was the bishop of Corduba, and was the most highly distinguished of all those who assembled at the council of Nice, he also obtained the first place among those convened at Sardica.

I intend to insert in this work an account of the admirable arguments addressed by the far-famed Liberius in defence of the truth to the emperor Constantius. They are recorded by some of the pious men of that period in order to stimulate others to the exercise of similar zeal in divine things. Liberius had succeeded Julius, the successor of Silvester, in the government of the church of Rome.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONFERENCE BETWEEN LIBERIUS BISHOP OF ROME, AND THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS.

CONSTANTIUS.—"We have judged it right, as you are a Christian and the bishop of our city, to send for you in order to admonish you to adjure all con-

nexion with the folly and wickedness of Athanasius. For it was in this light that his conduct was viewed by the whole world, when he was separated from the communion of the church by the synod."

LIBERIUS.—"O Emperor, ecclesiastical sentences ought to be enacted with justice: therefore, if it be pleasing to your piety, order the judges to assemble; and if it be seen that Athanasius deserves condemnation, then let sentence be passed upon him according to ecclesiastical forms. No man ought to be condemned without being examined."

CONSTANTIUS.—"The whole universe has condemned him; but he, as he has done from the very first, does but trifle away time."

LIBERIUS.—"Those who signed the condemnation were not eye-witnesses of any thing that occurred; but were actuated by the desire of glory, and by the fear of ignominy."

THE EMPEROR.—"What glory did they desire? What ignominy did they fear?"

LIBERIUS.—"Those who love not the glory of God, but who attach greater value to your gifts than to his glory, have condemned a man whom they have neither seen nor judged; this is very contrary to the principles of Christians."

THE EMPEROR.—"Athanasius was present at the council of Tyre, when he was judged and condemned by all the bishops of the world."

LIBERIUS.—"No judgment on his conduct has ever been passed while he was present. Those who were there assembled condemned him without cause after he had retired."

EUSEBIUS THE EUNUCH.—"It was demonstrated at the council of Nice, that he held opinions entirely at variance with the catholic faith."

LIBERIUS.—"Of all those who sailed with Ischerus to Maraeotis, and who were sent with memorials against the accused, five only delivered the accusation against him. Of the five who were thus sent, two are now dead, namely, Theognis and Theodore. The three others, Maris, Valens, and Ursacius, are still living. Sentence was passed at Sardica against all those who were sent for this purpose to Maraeotis. They presented a petition to the council soliciting pardon for having drawn up at Maraeotis memorials consisting of false accusations and depositions of only one party. Their petition is still in our hands. Whose cause are we to espouse, O Emperor? With whom are we to hold communion? With those who first condemned Athanasius, and then solicited pardon for having condemned him, or with those who have condemned these latter?"

EPICTETUS THE BISHOP.—"O Emperor, it is not on behalf of the faith, nor in defence of the ecclesiastical judgments that Liberius is pleading; but merely in order that he may boast before the Roman senators of having, by his arguments, turned the emperor from his purpose."

THE EMPEROR *(addressing Liberius)*.—"What portion do you constitute of the universe, that you desire to destroy the peace of the whole world in order to defend one solitary wicked individual?"

LIBERIUS.—"If I were standing alone, the cause of truth would not be less important. There was once

a period when only three persons could be found sufficiently courageous to resist the royal mandate."

EUSEBIUS THE EUNUCH.—"You compare our emperor to Nebuchadnezzar."

LIBERIUS.—"By no means. But you rashly condemn a man without any previous examination. What I desire is, in the first place, that a confession of faith be signed, confirming that drawn up at the council of Nice. And secondly, that all our brethren be recalled from exile, and reinstated in their own bishoprics. If, when all this has been carried into execution, it can be shown that the doctrines of those who now fill the churches with trouble are conformable to the apostolic faith, then we will all assemble at Alexandria to meet the accusers, the accused, and their defenders, and after having examined the cause, we will pass judgment upon it."

EPICTETUS THE BISHOP.—"There are not sufficient public vehicles to convey so many bishops."

LIBERIUS.—"Ecclesiastical affairs can be transacted without public vehicles. No churches are unable to provide means for the conveyance of their respective bishops by sea."

THE EMPEROR.—"The sentence which has once been passed ought not to be revoked. The decision of the greater number of bishops ought to prevail. You alone retain friendship towards that impious man."

LIBERIUS.—"O Emperor, it is a thing hitherto unheard of, that a judge should accuse the absent of impiety, as if he were his personal enemy."

THE EMPEROR.—"All without exception have been

injured by him, but none so deeply as I have been. Not content with occasioning the death of my eldest brother, he endeavoured to excite Constans, of blessed memory, to enmity against me; and, had not his aims been frustrated by my moderation, he would have caused a violent contest between us. None of the victories which I have gained, not even excepting those obtained over Magnentius and Silvanus, appear so satisfactory to me as the ejection of this despicable man from the government of the church."

LIBERIUS.—"Do not gratify your own hatred and revenge, O Emperor, by the instrumentality of bishops; for their hands ought only to be raised for purposes of blessing and of sanctification. If it be consonant with your will, command the bishops to return to their own residences; and if it appear that they can become of one mind with him who to this day maintains the true doctrines of the confession of faith signed at Nice, then peace will ensue throughout the world, and an innocent man will not serve as a mark for reproach."

THE EMPEROR.—"One question only requires to be made. If you will enter into communion with the churches, I will send you back to Rome. Consent therefore to peace, and sign your assent, and then you shall return to Rome."

LIBERIUS.—"I have already taken leave of the brethren who are in that city. The decrees of the church are of greater importance than a residence in Rome."

THE EMPEROR.—"I will give you three days to consider whether you will sign the document and

return to Rome; if not, you must choose the place of your banishment."

LIBERIUS.—"Neither three days nor three months can change my sentiments. Send me wherever you please."

After the lapse of two days, the emperor sent for Liberius, and finding his opinions unchanged, he commanded him to be banished to Berea, a city of Thrace. Upon the departure of Liberius, the emperor sent him five hundred pieces of gold to defray his expences. Liberius said to the messenger who brought them, "Go, and give them back to the emperor, he has need of them to pay his troops." The empress also sent him a sum of the same amount; he said, "Take it to the emperor, for he may want it to pay his troops; but if not, let it be given to Auxentius and Epictetus, for they stand in need of it." Eusebius the eunuch brought him other sums of money, and he thus addressed him: "After having converted all the churches of the world into deserts, do you bring alms to me, as to a criminal? Go, and become first a Christian." He was sent into exile three days afterwards, without having accepted anything that was offered him.

CHAPTER XVII.

BANISHMENT AND RETURN OF THE HOLY LIBERIUS.

THIS illustrious champion of the faith was sent into Thrace according to the sentence that had been enacted. Two years after this event Constantius went to Rome.

The ladies of rank urged their husbands to petition the emperor for the restoration of the shepherd to his flock: they added, that if this could not be conceded, the flock would go itself in quest of its great pastor. Their husbands replied, that they were afraid of incurring the resentment of the emperor. "If we were to ask him," they continued, "we should not succeed in obtaining the least concession; but if you were yourselves to present the petition, he would either accede to your request, or else dismiss you without injury." These noble ladies adopted this suggestion, and presented themselves before the emperor, after having adorned themselves in the most splendid attire, that their rank might be evident from their appearance, in order to ensure greater respect and lenity. Having thus presented themselves before him, they besought him to take pity on the condition of so large a city, deprived of its pastor and ravaged by wolves. The emperor replied, that the flock possessed a pastor capable of tending it, and that no other was needed in the city. After the banishment of the great Liberius, one of his deacons, named Felix, had been appointed bishop. He preserved inviolate the doctrines set forth in the Nicean confession of faith, yet he held communion with those who had corrupted that faith. For this reason none of the citizens of Rome would enter the church while he was in it. The ladies mentioned these facts to the emperor. Their persuasions were successful; and he commanded that the great Liberius should be recalled from exile, and that the two bishops should conjointly rule the church. The edict of the emperor was read in the race course, and the multi-

tude shouted, that the imperial regulation was just; that the spectators were divided into two factions, each deriving its name from its own colours, and that each faction would now have its own bishop. After having thus ridiculed the edict of the emperor, they all exclaimed with one voice, "There is but one God, one Christ, one bishop." These were their precise words. Some time after this Christian people had uttered these pious and just acclamations, the holy Liberius returned, and Felix retired to another city.

I have, for the sake of preserving order, appended this narrative to the history of the synod of Milan. I shall now return to the relation of events in their due course.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COUNCIL OF RIMINI.

When all who defended the faith had been removed (A.D. 359), those who impelled the mind of the emperor according to their own will, flattering themselves that the faith which they opposed might be easily subverted, and Arianism established in its stead, persuaded Constantius to summon bishops from the East and from the West to Rimini, and to command them to expunge the two terms *substance* and *consubstantial* from the formulary of the faith. These words were like two machines, invented by the fathers for the express purpose of destroying the deceitful errors of Arius; and they had, in fact, as I have said, created a division in the church. After the bishops were all assembled,

those who were infected with the principles of Arianism endeavoured to persuade and to deceive the others, particularly those from the West, who were the most simple. They said that the church ought not to be divided on account of two terms which are not to be found in the holy Scriptures: that it ought rather to be said, that the Son is in all respects like the Father, omitting all mention of the unscriptural term *substance*. But the bishops discovered their deceitfulness, and ejected them from communion, and wrote to the emperor upon the subject, acquainting him with their opinions. They told him, that they were themselves the sons and successors of the fathers who assembled at Nice; and that if they either took away from or added to what had been enacted by them, they would create doubt as to the legitimacy of their descent, and would condemn their own fathers. Their letter to Constantius contains the clearest account extant of the articles of their belief.

CHAPTER XIX.

SYNODICAL LETTER FROM THE BISHOPS CONVENED AT RIMINI, ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS.

"We believe that it is by the help of God, and through your pious enactment, that so many bishops are now assembled at Rimini from all the cities of the West, for the purpose of publicly recognizing the faith of the catholic church, and of detecting heretics. For after having deeply reflected upon the subject, it seems right to us to adhere to the ancient faith which

was preached by the prophets, the evangelists, and the apostles, through Jesus Christ our Lord, the Protector of your empire, and the Guardian of your own well being. This faith we have always held, and we will adhere to it even to the end. It appeared absurd and impious to us to alter the orthodox and just declarations drawn up at Nice, by common consent of the bishops and of your father Constantine of glorious memory. The doctrines then established were declared and preached to all men, and were used as the means not only of confuting the Arian heresy, but also of expunging all other heresies. Nothing could be altered in this formulary, without making room for the introduction of the delcterious poison of heretical doctrines. Ursacius and Valens were at one period suspected of having imbibed the Arian heresy, and were in consequence suspended from communion with us. They, however, afterwards petitioned for forgiveness, and promised amendment upon its being accorded. This is testified by their own writings, and by the pardon granted by the church at the time when the synod was convened at Milan, at which the presbyters of the church of Rome were present. We repeat, that we consider it absurd to make any innovations in that confession of faith, which was submitted to accurate examination in the presence of Constantine, and in the belief of which he was baptised, and entered into the eternal rest. Besides, this confession was held and signed by many holy confessors of the faith, and by martyrs, who adhered inviolably to the ancient decrees of the church. This faith has been preserved even to this present period in which

you have received from God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, the empire of the world.

"Some wretched individuals of disordered intellect have again had the boldness and audacity to preach impious doctrines, and are still endeavouring to overturn those doctrines which have been established according to all the principles of truth. For when we had assembled in council according to your edict, to deliberate on the doctrines of the faith, we were presented with a formulary drawn up by those disturbers of the peace of the church, with whom Germanius, Auxentius, and Caius are now associated. The doctrines set forth in this formulary were blasphemous. On its being rejected by the council, they endeavoured to make sundry alterations in it: this indeed they effected within a very short space of time. But in order that the church may not be subjected to further disturbance, it appeared right to us to preserve the ancient form of belief, and to suspend the persons above-mentioned from communion with us. We have sent despatches to acquaint your majesty with these particulars; the sentiments of the council will be learnt from the letters. We have charged these deputies to endeavour, above all things, to ensure the firm and permanent establishment of the ancient doctrines. We have also enjoined upon them to acquaint you that what has been asserted by Ursacius and Valens, namely, that peace can be procured by the introduction of slight changes, is not true. How can peace be secured by those who have subverted it; and especially by those who have filled all the cities, and particularly the church of Rome, with disputes and troubles?

Hence we beseech your clemency to give a gracious reception and a favourable hearing to our deputies, and not permit the dead to be injured by the mutation of those doctrines which, we are persuaded, were implanted in their minds by the Holy Ghost. For these innovations are not only grievous to believers, but likewise deter unbelievers from receiving the faith. We also beseech you to command that those bishops who are detained at Rimini, of whom some are suffering from the infirmities of age and the hardships of poverty, may be sent back to their own dioceses, in order that the churches may no longer be rendered desolate by the absence of their bishops. We now again beseech you that nothing may be added to, or taken away from, the faith; but that those doctrines, which were so carefully preserved during the reign of your father, may now and henceforth be suffered to remain unchanged. Do not in future permit us to be torn from our dioceses, and sent to distant regions; but allow the bishops to remain peaceably and undisturbed with their own people, that they may pray for the prosperity of your empire, for your own salvation, and for peace. Our deputies will present you with documents containing the signatures and the names of all the bishops."

The principal courtiers, who all favoured the Arian heresy, presented these documents to the emperor; but they would not permit the deputies to enter the palace, assigning as a reason to them, that the emperor was occupied with public affairs. They thus acted because they imagined that the bishops would be wearied by

the length of time they were detained, and would become anxious to return to their own cities, thus abandoning all the advantages that they had gained against heresy. But this artifice did not succeed; for these noble defenders of the faith despatched another letter to the emperor, entreating him to receive their deputies, and to dismiss the council. I shall here insert their letter.

CHAPTER XX.

ANOTHER LETTER ADDRESSED TO CONSTANTIUS.

"THE bishops assembled at Rimini to the emperor Constantius the conqueror.

"We have received the letter dictated by your clemency, most glorious potentate and emperor. It states that, from the pressure of public affairs, you have been unable to give audience to our deputies; you command us to wait for their return until you have heard from them what we have enacted in conformity to the doctrines of our fore-fathers. We again declare, that we have not swerved from our original determination; and this we have also signified to our deputies. We beseech you to have these letters read to you, and graciously to listen to what our deputies have to declare to you from us. You must be as well aware as we are of the troubles resulting to churches from their being deprived of their bishops, and that too during so happy a reign as yours. Hence we again beseech you, most glorious emperor, to command us, if it be pleasing to your benevolence,

to return to our churches before the rigour of winter sets in, that we may be able to unite with the people in offering prayers to God Almighty, and to Christ his Son our Lord and Saviour, for the preservation of your empire, even as we have done, and as we still do."

CHAPTER XXI.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COUNCIL HELD AT NICE, A CITY OF THRACE, AND OF THE FORMULARY OF FAITH THERE COMPILED.

When the emperor had received this letter, the Arians excited him to resentment, and compelled many of the bishops to repair to a city of Thrace called Nice. By means of deceiving those among them who were simple, and by persecuting the others, they persuaded them to effect that fraud against the church which they had so long devised, namely, to erase the terms *substance* and *consubstantial* from the formulary of faith, substituting that of *similar*. I shall here insert this formulary, not because it is a good one, but because it is opposed to the principles of the Arian faction; for the Arians of the present time have substituted the term *dissimilar* for that of *similar*.

THE UNORTHODOX CONFESSION OF FAITH DRAWN UP AT NICE, IN THRACE.

"We believe in one true God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things; and in the only-begotten Son of God, begotten before all ages and before all

commencement, by whom all things, whether visible or invisible, were made. He alone is the only-begotten Son of the one Father, God of God; similar, according to the Scriptures, to the Father who begat him. His generation is known to no one, save to the Father of whom he was begotten. This we know, that the only-begotten Son was sent by the Father; and that, as it is written, he came down from heaven to destroy sin and death; and that he was, through the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary according to the flesh, even as it is written; that he conversed with his disciples; and that, after having fulfilled all the will of the Father, he was crucified and died and was buried and descended into hell, which he filled with terror. We believe that he rose from the dead on the third day; that he conversed with his disciples during forty days; and that he then ascended into heaven and sat down at the right hand of the Father; and that he will come again at the last day of the resurrection in the glory of the Father, to give to every one according to his deeds. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, who is the Comforter and the Spirit of Truth, whom the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, both God and Lord, promised to send to man, according to Scripture, and whom he did indeed send after he had ascended into heaven, and had sat down at the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead. The word *substance*, which the fathers unwisely made use of, and which was not understood by the people, but which became to them a subject of offence, has been rejected by us, as it is not to be found in the Scriptures; and no future allusion will

be made to the substance of the Father and of the Son, because the holy Scriptures do not any where make mention of this subject. Neither ought the nature of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, even to be alluded to by any one. We say that the Son is similar to the Father, even as the holy Scriptures declare and teach. We pronounce anathema against all those heresies, whether previously condemned or recently arisen, which oppose this formulary of faith."

The signature of some of the bishops was obtained by compulsion, that of others by deceit. Those who refused to sign were banished to the extremities of the earth.

CHAPTER XXII.

SYNODICAL LETTER FROM DAMASUS, BISHOP OF ROME, AND THE BISHOPS OF THE WEST, TO THE BISHOPS OF ILLYRIA, CONCERNING THE COUNCIL OF RIMINI.

This formulary was condemned by all the adherents of truth, and particularly by the bishops of the West, as is testified by their letter to the bishops of Illyria. This letter was signed by Damasus, the virtuous successor of Liberius in the government of the church of Rome, and likewise by ninety bishops from Italy and from the country of the Galatae, which is now called Gaul, who were then assembled in Rome. I should have inserted their names, had it not appeared superfluous to do so. The following is the letter written by them:—

"Damasus, Valens, and the other bishops assembled at the holy council held at Rome, to the beloved brethren the bishops of Illyria. Peace be unto you in the Lord.

"We believe that you adhere to that holy faith which is founded on the doctrines of the apostles, and is conformable to the opinions of the fathers, and that you preach it to the people; for the priests of God, whose vocation is to instruct others, ought not to depart from the truth. But we have heard from our brethren in Gaul and at Venice, that there are some who are zealous to introduce heresy; an evil which all the bishops are bound to guard against, as well as against whatever is contrary to true interpretation of doctrines, lest any should, from ignorance or from simplicity, be deluded, and be led to listen to those who devise new doctrines, instead of adhering to the faith of our fathers. Auxentius, bishop of Milan, was justly condemned on this very account. It is then right that all the teachers of the law throughout the Roman empire should be of one mind, and not destroy by disputes the unity of the faith. As soon as the evil of heresy began to reach that pitch which the Arian blasphemy has now attained, three hundred and eighteen of our fathers were selected by the most holy bishop of Rome to deliberate on the subject at Nice; and they then erected a wall against the weapons of the devil, and prepared an antidote against the deadly poison of heresy. This antidote is the declaration that the Father and the Son have one substance, one divinity, one virtue,* one power, one character,†

* Ἀρετὴ. † Καρακτὴρ.

and that the Holy Ghost is likewise of the same hypostasis and substance. We have decided that those who advocate other opinions are to be excluded from communion with us. Certain individuals have endeavoured to pervert and to violate this salutary and excellent decision. But those who thus acted at the council of Rimini have since retracted, and have confessed that they were deceived; they stated that heretical doctrines were propounded in so specious a manner at that council, that they did not appear to be at variance with the decrees of our fathers at Nice. The number of those assembled at Rimini ought not to occasion any prejudice against the truth, because they assembled without the sanction either of the bishop of Rome, whose opinion ought to have been consulted before that of any other bishop, or of Vincent, who had during so many years exercised the episcopal functions; and also without the consent of many others who held similar sentiments. And besides, those bishops who had been deluded, and who hence appeared to vacillate, testified, as soon as they became undeceived, that their own dereliction from better principles had really grieved them. You must now perceive, that the articles of faith settled at Nice, upon the authority of the apostles, ought to be firmly established, and that the bishops both of the East and of the West, who profess to be catholics, ought to take pride in preserving unity with us. We believe that, before long, those who hold sentiments at variance with ours will be excluded from communion with us, and be deprived of the very name of bishop, so that the people, being freed from their errors, may have

liberty to breathe. The multitude cannot be liberated from error by those who cling to it themselves. Accord in opinion with the priests of God; we believe that you are in this respect firm and stedfast, but in order that we may not doubt it, gladden us by communicating this fact to us by letter. Farewell, much honoured brethren."

CHAPTER XXIII.

LETTER FROM ATHANASIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, RESPECTING THE SAME COUNCIL.

The great Athanasius, in a letter addressed to the Africans, expressed similar opinions respecting the council of Rimini.

"After what has been so fully demonstrated," says he, "can any one name the council of Rimini, or any other council, in opposition to that of Nice? or is there any one who does not feel aversion towards those who set aside the decrees of the fathers, and substitute the new enactments extorted from the council of Rimini by contention and violence? Who would wish to associate with those who disapprove of their own transactions? For they have attended more than ten councils, and at each council they have compiled a different formulary, thus clearly confessing by each successive compilation their disapprobation of the preceding. They have fallen into the same evil as the Jews who betrayed our Lord. For, as those who abandoned the only spring of living water made

unto themselves cisterns which could hold no water, even as was written by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. ii. 13), so these individuals had no sooner opposed the general council, than they made unto themselves many councils, which are all vain and useless, and which, like theatrical representations of similar assemblies, are utterly powerless. We must not, therefore, listen to those who speak of the council of Rimini, or of any other council, as superior to that of Nice. For those who make so much mention of the council of Rimini, cannot surely be acquainted with what took place at it, else they would be silent on the subject. You know, beloved brethren, for you have heard it from those of your province who attended the council of Rimini, that Ursacius, Valens, Eudoxius, and Auxentius, with whom Demophilus was associated, were deposed because they wished to introduce doctrines differing from those established at Nice. When they were asked to condemn the Arian heresy, they refused to do so, and declared themselves its defenders. Nearly two hundred bishops who were faithful servants of the Lord, and who adhered to the true faith, declared in writing, that they considered the Nicean formulary alone to be quite sufficient, and that they did not seek or believe either more or less than that which it contained. They declared the same things to Constantius, by whom the council had been convened. But those who had been deposed at Rimini repaired to Constantius, and caused the bishops who had condemned them to be treated with insult, and to be threatened with being prevented from returning to their own dioceses, and of being compelled to remain

in Thrace throughout the winter, unless they would consent to the proposed innovations. Therefore, if any persons should dwell upon the superior authority of the council of Rimini, they ought first to be informed, that the bishops above-mentioned had been deposed; and secondly, that the other bishops declared in writing that they sought nothing beyond what was included in the confession of faith drawn up by the fathers at Nice, and that they acknowledge the authority of no other council. But these circumstances are studiously concealed by such persons, and those decrees which were enacted in Thrace by force, are prominently brought forward. Hence it is clearly seen that they have imbibed the Arian heresy, and are estranged from the true faith. If the general council were to be placed in comparison with the councils preferred by the heretics, the piety of the one and the absurdity of the others would be very evident. The bishops convened at Nice had never been deposed; but they confessed that the Son is of the substance of the Father. Those who assembled at Rimini had been deposed, some twice, and others even three times, and yet they had the presumption to write that it ought not to be said of God that he had either a substance or a hypothesis."

Such were the frauds and artifices resorted to by the partizans of Arius in the West, against the doctrines of the truth.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EVIL MACHINATIONS OF LEONTIUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH: THE BOLDNESS OF FLAVIANUS AND OF DIODORUS.

After Flaccillus, the successor of Stephen, had been ejected from the church, Leontius succeeded to the chief authority in Antioch, contrary to the decrees of the Nicean council; for he was an eunuch, and had rendered himself such. St. Athanasius relates the cause of this act. Leontius had given rise to evil reports by frequenting the society of a young woman named Eustolia; he was therefore forbidden to hold further intercourse with her. He rendered himself an eunuch in order that he might enjoy her society without creating surmises. But he did not thus escape suspicion; and, as he was a priest, he was deposed. Athanasius thus described the other events of the life of Leontius. "I shall give a brief account of his deceitfulness and of his artifices. He participated in the errors of Arius, but carefully concealed his impiety. Perceiving that the clergy and laity were divided in opinion, and that when praise was offered to the Son, some introduced the conjunctive particle '*and*,' while others made use of the preposition '*by*,' with reference to the Son, and of '*in*' with reference to the Holy Ghost, he repeated the doxologies in an under tone of voice, so that those who were placed nearest him could only hear these words, 'for ever and ever.' If so many proofs of his wickedness had not existed, it might have been said, that he did this simply with the design of

restoring concord among the people. But his numerous and cruel machinations against the defenders of the truth, and the care and favour which he bestowed on those who had adopted impious principles, show plainly that he concealed his infatuated views from the fear of exciting the indignation of the multitude, and of incurring the severe penalties threatened by Constantius against all who should dare to affirm that the Son is dissimilar from the Father. He, however, manifested his sentiments by his actions. He never ordained or raised to any office of trust those who adhered to the apostolical doctrines, while those who clung to the Arian infatuation were allowed complete freedom of action, and were promoted to ecclesiastical dignities. About this time Aëtius, who had added new errors to the Arian doctrines, was ordained deacon. But Flavianus and Diodorus, who had embraced the monastical mode of life, and who publicly defended the doctrines of the apostles, exposed the artifices of Leontius against religion, and showed how he had elevated to the rank of deacon a man who had imbibed the most corrupt principles, and who sought to render himself conspicuous by his impiety. They even threatened to withdraw themselves from ecclesiastical communion with him, and to go to the West in order to make known his plots. Leontius was terrified at these threats, and forbade Aëtius from performing the duties of the ministry; but in other respects he continued to patronize him. Although Flavianus and Diodorus were not elevated to the rank of the priesthood, but were merely laymen, yet by night and by day they exhorted all men to be zealous

in religion. They were the first who divided the choir and taught them to sing the Psalms of David responsively. This custom, which they thus originated in Antioch, spread every where, even to the very ends of the habitable world. These two men used to assemble with the people around the tombs of the martyrs, to sing throughout the whole night the praises of God. When Leontius became acquainted with this proceeding he did not dare to prohibit it; for he perceived that these men were held in the highest estimation by the multitude on account of their virtues. He requested them in a mild and specious manner to perform this service in the church. They obeyed this injunction, although they perceived his evil motives, and willingly assembled in the church with those who shared in their love, in order to sing to the praise of the Lord. But nothing could abate the malice of Leontius. Under a mild and plausible exterior he concealed the deep iniquity of Stephen and of Flaccillus. He raised to the rank of priests and of deacons those who had embraced heretical doctrines, and who led a dissolute course of life. Those, on the contrary, who were adorned with every virtue, and who adhered to the apostolical faith, received no promotion from him. Hence many persons infected with heretical errors were thrust into the clerical office. Yet the greater part of the people continued attached to orthodox doctrines. Indeed those upon whom the duty of teaching had devolved, did not dare to declare their blasphemous sentiments openly. It would take much space to recount the

impiety and the acts of injustice perpetrated by Flaccillus, Stephen, and Leontius; the complaint of David is applicable to them, for he says, 'Lo, thine enemies make a tumult, and they that hate thee have lifted up the head. They have taken crafty counsel against thy people, and have consulted against thy holy ones. They have said, Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation, that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.'"

We must now continue our history.

CHAPTER XXV.

INNOVATIONS OF EUDOXIUS BISHOP OF GERMANICA.—HE IS ZEALOUSLY OPPOSED BY BASIL BISHOP OF ANCYRA, AND BY EUSTATHIUS BISHOP OF SEBASTE.

The city Germanica is situated in Euphratia, a province bordering on Cilicia, Syria, and Cappadocia. When Eudoxius, the bishop of this city, heard of the death of Leontius, he took forcible possession of the chief authority in Antioch, and ravaged the vineyard of the Lord like a wild boar. He did not, like Leontius, conceal by artifice the malignity of his disposition; but he openly and violently opposed the doctrines of the apostles, and persecuted all those who dared to resist him. At this period, Basil had succeeded Marcellus in the government of the church of Ancyra; and Eustathius was bishop of Sebaste, the capital of Armenia. These two bishops hearing of the violence and cruelty of Eudoxius, had the courage to write to the emperor Constantius on the subject.

The emperor was then in the West, endeavouring to repair the injuries which the tyrants had inflicted on the country. They both possessed the favour and confidence of the emperor on account of their exemplary course of life.

CHAPTER XXVI.

COUNCIL CONVOKED FIRST AT NICE, AND AFTERWARDS AT SELEUCIA IN ISAURIA.

Upon receiving this intelligence Constantius wrote to the citizens of Antioch, to acquaint them that he had not conferred the bishopric of their city upon Eudoxius, although a report had been spread to that effect. He ordered him to be expelled from the city, and desired sentence to be passed on him at Nice in Bithynia, where a council had been summoned. Eusebius had artfully arranged, through the intervention of those who held the chief appointments in the palace, that the council should be held at Nice. But the Ruler of the universe, to whom the future is as present as the past, prevented the meeting of the council by a most unexpected earthquake, which overthrew the greater part of the city, and destroyed a great number of the inhabitants. The bishops who had already arrived at the spot, were seized with terror, and returned to their respective churches. I believe that this was expressly ordained by the wisdom of God. For in this very city, where the doctrines of the apostolical faith had been signed by the fathers, these latter bishops were about to publish

other and contrary doctrines; and as the Arians would have taken advantage of the name of the council, and would have confounded the decrees there enacted with those passed at the ancient council of Nice in order to deceive the simple, He who watches over the interests of the church prevented the council from being held. A short time subsequently, Constantius, at the solicitation of the accusers of Eudoxius, appointed the council to be held at Seleucia, a city which lies near the sea, and which is the capital of Isauria. Thither were summoned the bishops of the East, those of Pontus, and those of Asia. During this period the church of Cæsarea in Palestine was governed by Acacius who had succeeded Eusebius. Acacius had been deposed at the council of Sardica; but he, despising the great concourse of bishops assembled at that council, refused to submit to their sentence. Maximus succeeded Macarius, whom we have lately mentioned, in the government of the church of Jerusalem. He had distinguished himself by defending religion during the times of persecution, and had in this cause suffered the loss of his right eye and of his right arm. When he was called to enter upon a higher state of existence, his bishopric was conferred upon Cyril, a zealous defender of the apostolical doctrines. These bishops contended for priority; and their contests occasioned the greatest evils throughout the whole church. Acacius had, under a very slight pretext, deposed Cyril, and expelled him from Jerusalem. Cyril, finding that there was no pastor at Antioch, repaired thither; thence he proceeded to Tarsus, and took up his abode with

the admirable Silvanus, bishop of the city. Acacius, on being apprised of this circumstance, wrote to Silvanus, to inform him that Cyril had been deposed. But Silvanus revered the character of Cyril, and feared the people who were much pleased with his teaching: he therefore did not prohibit him from exercising the functions of the ministry. When the council had assembled at Seleucia, Cyril took his place with Basil, Eustathius, and the other bishops. Acacius was also present at this council, which consisted of one hundred and fifty bishops. He stated that he would not assist in any deliberations until Cyril had quitted the council, because he had been deposed from the episcopal office. Some of the bishops who were desirous of peace besought Cyril to retire, promising that as soon as questions respecting doctrine had been determined, they would investigate his case. But Cyril would not accede to this request, and Acacius quitted the council. He went to Eudoxius, quieted his apprehensions, and emboldened him by promising to protect and to assist him. He prohibited him from going to the council, and took him to Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXVII.

EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO THE ORTHODOX BISHOPS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

CONSTANTIUS had been at Constantinople ever since his return from the West. Acacius laid before him many accusations against the bishops assembled at

Seleucia, whom he represented as wicked men who were plotting the ruin and destruction of the church. The emperor was aroused to indignation. But that which most deeply incensed him was a false accusation which Acacius brought against Cyril, who, he said, had sold to an actor the sacred robe of golden cloth which the celebrated emperor Constantine had, to honour the church of Jerusalem, presented to Macarius, then bishop of the city, that he might put it on whenever he administered the holy ordinance of baptism: the actor who had purchased this robe appeared in it at the theatre, and suddenly fell down and expired. Acacius also told the emperor that the other bishops had associated this same Cyril with themselves in all their deliberations, and that they passed judgment on others according to his opinion. The principal courtiers seized this pretext to persuade the emperor to send for ten bishops only, and not to summon the whole council; for they were fearful lest unanimity of opinion might prevail in so great an assembly of bishops. Among the ten principal bishops who were summoned, were Eustathius bishop of Armenia, Basil bishop of Galatia, Silvanus bishop of Tarsus, and Eleusius bishop of Cyzicum. Upon their arrival, they besought permission of the emperor to proceed at once to the investigation of the blasphemy and guilt of Eudoxius. But the emperor, at the instigation of the adverse party, said that it was necessary to deliberate first on matters relating to the faith, and that then his case might be examined. Basil, with the confidence which naturally arose from his former familiarity with the emperor, reproved him

for having formed designs against the apostolical doctrines. Constantius became irritated, commanded Basil to be silent, and charged him with being the cause of the tempest which agitated the church. When Basil had thus been silenced, Eustathius exclaimed, "Since you desire, O Emperor, that the doctrines of the faith should be examined, turn your attention to the blasphemy against the only begotten Son which Eudoxius has dared to utter; for he has but just presented his formulary of faith, which contains the following among many other impious declarations: 'Those things which are enunciated by different terms, differ also in substance. Now it is said there is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ by whom are all things. Here the expressions *of whom* and *by whom* are not synonymous. The Son, therefore, is dissimilar from God the Father.'" The emperor, after having this confession of faith read to him, was moved to indignation by the impiety it contained, and asked Eudoxius whether it had been composed by him. Eudoxius affirmed that it was not written by him but by Aëtius. This was the same Aëtius who some time previously had been deprived of the office of deacon by Leontius, from the dread of the accusations of Flavianus and Diodorus: he had also been the accomplice of George, bishop of Alexandria, and had taken an active part in all his impious discourses and unholy enterprizes. Aëtius was then residing with Eunomius at the house of Eudoxius: for, at the death of Leontius, Eudoxius having seized the government of the church of Antioch, Aëtius had returned

from Egypt, and had brought Eunomius with him. When he discovered that Eudoxius held the same sentiments as himself, and that his impious principles were combined with the luxurious habits of the Sybarites, he preferred to reside in Antioch rather than in any other city. He and Eunomius frequented the table of Eudoxius, and led the life of parasites, going hither and thither with the sole intent of gormandizing. These things coming to the knowledge of the emperor, he desired Aëtius to be brought before him, and, showing him the formulary, asked him whether he was the author of it? Aëtius, being totally ignorant of what had transpired, and unaware of the cause of the question being put to him, and expecting also that his confession of the fact would elicit applause, said that he was indeed the author of the document. The emperor, having thus detected his great impiety, immediately condemned him to banishment, and sent him to a region of Phrygia. Thus Aëtius reaped disgrace as the fruit of his blasphemy, and was thrust out of the palace. Eustathius deposed that Eudoxius held the same views as Aëtius who had indited these blasphemies, that he had been an inmate of the same house, and had sat down at the same table, and had been subservient to all his designs. Eustathius added, that this writing could not have been drawn up without the knowledge and concurrence of Eudoxius; and that this was proved by his having declared that it was written by Aëtius. The emperor said that the decision of judges ought not to rest upon conjectures, but upon the results of close and accurate examination. To this

observation Eustathius made the following reply:—"Let Eudoxius convince us that he does not hold these sentiments, by pronouncing an anathema against the formulary of Aëtius." The emperor having agreed to this proposal, Eudoxius endeavoured by various artifices to evade pronouncing the condemnation to which he had been challenged. But when the emperor became irritated, and threatened to send him into banishment with Aëtius as the accomplice in his impiety, he publicly renounced his own doctrines, which, however, he never desisted from defending. Eudoxius then objected to Eustathius that he and the other bishops ought to condemn the word *con-substantial*, as it is not to be found in Scripture. Silvanus replied, that, as the statements that the Son was called out of nothing into being, that he is a creature, and of a different substance from the Father, do not occur in Scripture, nor in the writings of prophets, nor of the apostles, it was but just that such statements should be condemned and expunged by those who held them. The emperor assented to this, and commanded the partizans of Eudoxius to condemn these expressions. At first they made some objections, but at length perceiving the indignation of the emperor, they reluctantly condemned the statements cited by Silvanus, and they demanded with greater vehemence than before that the term *con-substantial* should likewise be condemned. But Silvanus addressed both them and the emperor with subtlety as well as with truth. If the Word who is God was not created,* if he is not a creature, if he is not of a

* Εἰ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων οὐκ ἔστι.

different substance, he must be of the same* substance as God who begat him; for he is God of God and Light of Light, and of the same nature as the Father who begat him." But though he maintained these arguments with power and with truth, he did not succeed in convincing any one. The partisans of Acacius and Eudoxius raised loud shouts against him; and the emperor, being angry, threatened to expel him from the church. Eleusius, Silvanus, and others, told the emperor that he had the right of inflicting punishment, but that the right of judging between piety and impiety was theirs, and that they would never swerve from the doctrines of the fathers. Constantius, instead of applauding their wisdom and courage, and their defence of the apostolical doctrines, banished them from their churches and appointed others in their place. Eudoxius then seized the government of the church of Constantinople; and Eunomius took possession of the bishopric of Cyzicum, whence Eleusius had been ejected. The emperor then commanded a written condemnation of Aëtius to be prepared, so that his associates in impiety were compelled to condemn one holding the same sentiments as themselves. They wrote to George, bishop of Alexandria, informing him of what had been done against Aëtius. In proof of their malice I shall here insert their letter, for they treated those who coincided in their opinions and those who opposed them in the same manner.

* Ὁμοούσιος.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SYNODICAL EPISTLE WRITTEN AGAINST AËTIUS.

Copy of the letter written by all the council to George, concerning the atrocious blasphemy of his deacon Aëtius.

"The holy synod assembled at Constantinople saluteth the much honoured George, bishop of Alexandria.

"The bishops, by condemning the unlawful and scandalous writings of Aëtius, have acted in conformity with the canons of the church. They have likewise ejected him from the office of deacon, and have excommunicated him. They admonished us to refrain from reading his letters, and desired us to destroy his writings on account of their inutility and pernicious tendency. They also enacted that a sentence of condemnation should be issued against him and his adherents if he persisted in his error. It would have been well if the author of all the offences, troubles, schisms, and tumults which have agitated the whole world, and of the disputes which have divided the members of the church, had been regarded with aversion by all the bishops assembled at the council, so that they might have unanimously concurred in the sentence pronounced against him. But, contrary to all our hopes and expectations, Serras, Stephen, Heliodorus, Theophilus, and others refused to assent to our decision, or to sign the sentence which

we had adjudged. Yet Serras accused Aëtius of the grossest infatuation, alleging that he had had the presumption and audacity to declare that God had revealed to him what had been kept concealed from the apostles. Even after proof of the infatuation and arrogance of Aëtius had been adduced by Serras, they could not be led either by entreaties or by arguments to sign the sentence which we had decreed against him. We bore with them patiently for a long time, addressing them alternately in tones of indignation, of entreaty, and of rebuke, and then beseeching them to agree with us and with the whole council. We waited a long time to see if they would yield to the force of our arguments. But when we had borne with them during so long a period, and had found that they would not yield nor assent to the condemnation of the aforesaid individual, we testified that we held the canons of the church in higher estimation than the friendship of men, and we excluded them from communion; we gave them, however, six months for repentance and amendment, and for reconciliation with the synod. We determined that if within the time appointed they repented of their error, became united in opinion with their brethren, and assented to the decree against Aëtius, they should be admitted into communion with the church, and should receive from us, in all the synods, the authority and the love which they had previously enjoyed; but that if, regarding the friendship of men more than the laws of the church and unity with us, they persisted in refusing to repent of their temerity, that we should then consider them unworthy of the episcopal dignity.

Upon their deposition, it became requisite that other bishops should fill their offices, in order that the church may be united in opinion, that the bonds of love may be preserved between the bishops of every region, and that they all may declare the same truths, and be of one mind and of one opinion. This is what we had to mention to you respecting the decrees of the council. We pray that you may be enabled to observe them; and that you may, by the grace of Christ, peaceably and lawfully govern the church which is under you."

CHAPTER XXIX.

CAUSE OF THE RUPTURE BETWEEN THE EUNOMIANS AND THE ARIANS.

Eunomius, in his writings, highly extolled Aëtius, styled him the man of God, and bestowed many encomiums on him; still he did not refrain from intimacy with those who had condemned him; and he even received ordination from them, being raised by them to the episcopal dignity. The partisans of Eudoxius and of Acacius, who had approved of the formulary compiled at Nice in Thrace, of which mention has already been made, ordained two bishops in the room of Basil and Eleusius whom they had deposed. As I think it would be superfluous to enter into particulars respecting the other bishops, I shall only relate what concerns Eunomius. The government of the church of Cyzicum being seized by Eunomius while Eleusius was still living, Eudoxius, who

perceived the attachment of the people to sound doctrine, and who was also aware that the emperor had expressed indignation against those who said that the only begotten Son of God had been created, counselled Eunomius to conceal his sentiments, and not to let them be known to those who were earnestly seeking an opportunity for framing accusations against him. "At some future period," said he, "we will preach that which we now conceal, we will instruct the ignorant, and will silence our opponents either by arguments, by force, or by vengeance." Eunomius, in accordance with this advice, concealed his impiety by involving his doctrines in obscure phraseology. But those who were well instructed in the holy Scriptures perceived the fraud, and felt it deeply; but they conceived that the manifestation of any opposition would be more rash than prudent. Under the pretence of having imbibed heretical opinions, they went to his house, and besought him to expound to them the truth which he maintained, that they might not be driven hither and thither by contrary doctrines. He was led to place confidence in them, and disclosed to them the doctrines which he had till then concealed. They then told him that it would be exceedingly unjust and impious if he did not communicate the truth to all men. Eunomius was deceived by these and other similar arguments, and accordingly divulged his blasphemous opinions in the public assemblies of the church. They then, transported with zeal, hastened to Constantinople, and laid their accusation against Eunomius, in the first place, before Eudoxius; but as he would not

receive it, they repaired to the emperor to complain to him of the injury committed by Eunomius, whom they accused of advancing doctrines more impious than the blasphemies of Arius. The emperor was much incensed on receiving this information; and he commanded Eudoxius to send for Eunomius, and upon his conviction to deprive him of the sacerdotal office. Finding that Eudoxius persisted in delay, notwithstanding their numerous solicitations, the accusers again repaired to the emperor, and declared that Eudoxius had disobeyed the command imposed on him, and that he suffered so great a city to be abandoned to the blasphemies of Eunomius. Constantius then menaced Eudoxius with banishment unless he would bring him forward to judgment, and inflict upon him the penalties of the law, should he be convicted of the crimes laid to his charge. Eudoxius, terrified by these menaces, wrote to Eunomius, desiring him to flee from Cyzicum, and to impute all the blame to himself for not having followed the advice which had been given him. Eunomius was fearful for his own safety, and therefore retreated. He accused Eudoxius of treachery and injustice towards him and towards Aëtius. From that time he began to form a sect of his own. All those who had previously held the same sentiments as himself went over to him, and inveighed against the treachery of Eudoxius. They were called Eunomians after their leader, which name they have retained to this day. Eunomius being thus placed at the head of a faction, gave still greater weight by his impiety to the blasphemy of Arius. The facts themselves clearly prove

that in making himself the head of a party he was solely impelled by ambition and the love of glory. Thus, when Aëtius was condemned and banished, he would not accompany him into exile, although he had previously declared him to be a man of God; but he continued on terms of friendship with Eudoxius. When his impiety had been visited by a just sentence of deposition, he would not submit to the decision of the council, but continued to ordain bishops and presbyters, although he had himself been divested of the episcopal office. These are the events which occurred at Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXX.

SIEGE OF NISIBIS.—APOSTOLICAL CONDUCT OF JAMES, BISHOP OF THE CITY.

Sapor, king of Persia, having declared war against the Romans, Constantius raised troops and marched to Antioch. He defeated the enemy, yet not by the Roman army, but by the God of the pious individuals who dwelt in the Roman empire. I shall here relate the manner in which he gained the victory. Nisibis, by some called Antioch of Mygdonia, lies between the frontiers of the Persian and Roman empires. James, whom I have already mentioned, was the bishop, the guardian, and the leader of this city: all the gifts of the apostles were united in him. I have already narrated his extraordinary and celebrated miracles in a work entitled "Philotheus," I therefore think it unnecessary again to record them here. I shall, how-

ever, mention one which has immediate connection with our present narrative. As this city was under the government of the Romans, the Persian army blockaded it. During seventy days they surrounded it, they planted battering rams against the walls, constructed many other warlike machines, and made ramparts and trenches around the city; yet they could not force it to surrender. At length, they determined to stop the course of the river Mygdonius, which flows through the city; they formed ramparts on each side of the stream to prevent its overflowing, and so much of the water was thus collected that it began to flow over the embankment; then they hurled it like a battering ram against the walls, which, not being able to withstand the shock, were thrown down. The river also caused a similar catastrophe when it rushed out on the opposite side of the city, for the walls in that part were likewise unable to resist the impetuosity of the stream, and were consequently overthrown. On perceiving the walls thus battered down, Sapor expected to take possession of the city without any trouble. He remained at rest during that day with the intention of waiting till the ground had become dry and the river navigable, before he took any further steps. At length he called together all his troops, in the confident expectation of effecting an entrance into the city through the breaches which had been made in the walls; he then perceived that the walls had been rebuilt, and that all his labour had been in vain. For the holy bishop, after having by means of prayer raised the courage of the soldiers and of the other

inhabitants, rebuilt the wall, and placed the warlike machines within the city in order to assault the enemy. In effecting this he did not even approach the walls, but remained within the church, praying to God. Sapor was not only terrified by the speedy re-erection of the walls, but also by a vision. He saw on the wall a man decorated with the imperial ornaments, and was surprised at the splendid radiance of his purple robes and of his diadem. He at first conjectured him to be the Roman emperor; and he threatened to punish with death those who had reported him to be at a distance. But on their protesting that what they had said was true, and on their proving that Constantius was at Antioch, Sapor perceived the signification of the vision, and exclaimed, "God is fighting for the Romans!" Filled with indignation, he shot up an arrow toward heaven, although he well knew the impossibility of wounding Him who is incorporeal. Then Ephraim, who was a most excellent man and the best of the Syrian writers, besought the holy James to mount upon the walls, and looking upon the barbarians to pronounce imprecations against them. James acceded to this request, and accordingly ascended one of the towers. Thence he perceived the multitudes of men, but he uttered no imprecations against them. He prayed that flies and gnats might be sent against them, that so they might learn from these small insects the great power of Him who protected the Romans. His prayer was scarcely concluded, when swarms of flies and of gnats appeared like clouds. The trunks of the elephants, which are hollow like tubes, were filled

with them, as also the ears and the nostrils of the horses and of the other beasts of burden. These animals, not being able with all their strength to get rid of the insects, became furious, threw their riders, broke the ranks, left the army, and fled away with the utmost speed. The wretched king, learning by means of this slight and gentle punishment the power of that God who protects the pious, returned with shame at having met with defeat where he had confidently expected victory.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SYNOD HELD AT ANTIOCH.—CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH THERE OCCURRED RELATIVE TO THE HOLY MELITIUS.

At this period the emperor Constantius resided at Antioch. After he had, by concluding a truce, terminated the war against the Persians, he again assembled all the bishops, and tried to compel them to expunge the term "*consubstantial*,"* and to insert the expression "*of a different substance*."† The church of Antioch was then destitute of a pastor; for Eudoxius, who had seized the bishopric on the death of Leontius, had been expelled, and had, in disobedience to the decrees of many councils, taken possession of that of Constantinople. The bishops who were assembled from all regions, therefore said that it was first necessary to elect a pastor over the flock, and that they would then, in concert with him, deliberate on the doctrines of religion. At this period Melitius, whose character was most highly exemplary, had re-

* Τὸ ὁμοούσιον. † Τὸ ἑτεροούσιον.

signed the bishopric of a little city in Armenia, not being able to bear the contumacy of the people, and was living elsewhere in quiet and retirement. The members of the Arian faction, believing that Melitius was of one mind with themselves, and that he upheld the same doctrines, petitioned Constantius to commit the reins of the church of Antioch into his hands; for they fearlessly violated every enactment in their attempts to strengthen their own impious cause. The very foundation of their blasphemy was laid upon the transgression of the laws; and they have every where introduced numerous innovations. Those who supported the apostolical doctrines, being aware of the sound principles of the great Melitius, as well as of his exemplary course of life and of his great virtues, warmly seconded the petition; and zealously took measures to ensure the decree of his election being written and signed. When the decree had been duly completed, it was entrusted to the care of Eusebius bishop of Samosata, who was a noble defender and champion of the truth. Upon receiving the imperial command, the great Melitius returned, and was met by all the bishops, by the clergy, by the citizens, and even by the Jews and the Greeks, who were desirous of seeing so celebrated a man. The emperor commanded him, and those other bishops who possessed rhetorical abilities, to explain to the multitude the following words, "The Lord made me in the beginning of his ways, for his works:" and he commanded that each exposition should be committed to writing in order to secure accuracy. George, bishop of Laodicea, was the first who drew up an exposition, and in it he displayed the baneful nature of his heresy.

Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, in his explanation, which was next completed, steered a middle course between the impiety of the Arians and the purity of the apostolical doctrines, differing greatly from the one and yet not preserving the characteristic features of the other. Thirdly, the great Melitius stood up and explained the principles enforced by the ecclesiastical canons. He weighed all his words in the balance of truth, and carefully avoided saying either too much or too little. His discourse was heard with general approbation, and being entreated to give a brief synopsis of his doctrines, he extended three of his fingers, and then closed two, leaving one only extended, and uttered the following remarkable words: "Three persons are conceived in the mind, but we speak as if addressing one." Those who had imbibed the errors of Arius began to revile him, and to accuse him falsely of following the doctrines of Sabellius. They induced the emperor, who was more changeable than Æolus, to banish him to his native country. His bishopric was given to Euzoius, who openly advocated the Arian doctrines, and who had been deposed at the same time as Arius, and had been excluded from the office of deacon by the great Alexander. On account of this election, the more orthodox part of the community separated from those who had embraced heresy, and assembled in the apostolical church which was situated in the old city. During thirty years, which had elapsed since the machinations against the celebrated Eustathius, they had borne with the wickedness of the Arians, expecting that affairs would take a better turn. But when they saw that the cause of heresy was becoming stronger, and

that all who maintained the apostolical doctrines were either openly opposed or secretly persecuted, and when they perceived that the holy Melitius had been deposed, and Euzoius, the patron of heresy, appointed to supplant him, they recalled to mind the words addressed to Lot, "Save your soul." The following precept of the gospel likewise occurred to them, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee." The signification of these words was meant by the Lord to extend to the hand and to the foot; for it is added, "It is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, than that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

It was in this way that the church of Antioch was divided into opposite parties.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA.

EUSEBIUS, that excellent bishop whom I have already mentioned, to whom the written decree of election had been confided, returned to his own city when he perceived that the compact was about to be broken. The Arians, fearing that, as the document contained their signatures, it might serve as a proof of their guilt, persuaded the emperor to send to Eusebius for it. The emperor accordingly despatched a messenger upon one of the public horses, as was the custom when a speedy answer was desired. When he had arrived and delivered the message of the emperor, the admirable Eusebius made the following reply: "I cannot consent to restore the public deposit, except at

the command of the whole assembly of bishops by whom it was committed to my care." When this reply was conveyed to the emperor he was deeply incensed, and he wrote again to Eusebius commanding him to deliver up the decree, and threatening him with the amputation of his right hand unless he would comply with the injunction. This, however, he only wrote for the purpose of intimidating him; for he forbade the bearer of the letter from executing the threat. After Eusebius had read the letter, and had learnt what punishment was threatened by the emperor, he stretched out his hands and said, "I am willing to suffer the loss of both my hands, rather than to resign a document which contains so manifest a demonstration of the impiety of the Arians." Constantius, on being informed of his fortitude, highly applauded him, and ever after held him in high admiration. Even the enemies of virtue are compelled by its greatness to admire it.

About this period, Constantius heard that Julian, whom he had appointed Cæsar in Europe, had entered upon many ambitious projects, and had even raised troops against his benefactor. Constantius, accordingly, set off for Syria; but he died in Cilicia. He did not enjoy that assistance which his father had bequeathed him, because he had not preserved inviolate the birthright of his father's piety; so that when he drew near his end he bitterly lamented having corrupted the faith.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

BOOK III.—CHAPTER I.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

Constantius died deploring his defection from the faith of his father. Julian, when on his journey from Europe to Asia, was informed of the death of Constantius: he immediately took possession of the imperial crown, which no one dared to dispute with him.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF JULIAN, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT APOSTASY.

From his tenderest infancy Julian had been nourished with the milk of religious doctrines, as was also Gallus his brother. He adhered to this doctrine during his childhood and early youth. Intimidated by Constantius, who, apprehensive of usurpations, made away with his nearest relatives, Julian placed himself in the office of reader at the ecclesiastical assemblies, and read the sacred books to the people. He had an edifice erected in honour of the martyrs; but his liberality was not accepted by the martyrs, because they foresaw his apostasy. The foundations of this building were as unstable as the mind of their founder; and the whole structure fell down before it had been consecrated. Such were the events which occurred in his youth.

CHAPTER III.

MANNER IN WHICH JULIAN OPENLY MANIFESTED THOSE IMPIOUS SENTIMENTS WHICH HE HAD PREVIOUSLY CONCEALED.

When Constantius departed to the West to make war against Magnentius, he appointed Gallus to be Cæsar of the East. Gallus had embraced the true religion, and stedfastly adhered to it throughout his life. At this juncture Julian threw off the salutary fear of God, boldly assumed more than was his by right, and aspired to the imperial sceptre. With this object in view, he traversed all Greece to consult the soothsayers and interpreters of oracles whether his ambitious aspirations would be fulfilled. He fell in with a man who promised to foretel what he desired, and who accordingly led him into the deepest recesses of an idolatrous temple, and there invoked the deceiving demons. When they appeared as usual under the most frightful forms, Julian, constrained by terror, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead. The demons, on perceiving the sign of the cross, the memorial of the Lord's victory over them, and of their defeat, immediately vanished. The sorcerer reprimanded Julian for having caused their flight. Julian explained that he had been overcome by terror; and declared that he admired the power of the cross, the sign of which the demons were not able to look upon. "Do not take up that idea, good man," said the sorcerer. "They did not fear that which you mention, but dis-

appeared because they abominated the action which you performed." After thus deceiving him, the sorcerer initiated him into the mysteries, and filled his mind with impiety. Thus did the lust of empire rob this wretched prince of all religion. When he ascended the throne, he for a long time concealed his impiety, because he feared the soldiers who had embraced the doctrines of religion. For Constantine, who was so deserving of all praise, after having freed them from their former superstitions, had had them instructed in true doctrines. His children stedfastly adhered to those doctrines which they had received from their father. For although Constantius was induced by those who had obtained an undue ascendancy over him to reject the term "consubstantial," yet he had always sincerely admitted the doctrine signified by it. For he confessed that the Word is God, and the Son of God, begotten of God before all ages: and he condemned all those who dared to affirm that he is a creature; he also invariably prohibited the worship of idols. Among his other actions, one is worthy of being mentioned, as it displays his zeal for the things of God. When entering upon the war against Magnentius, he assembled all his soldiers and exhorted them to receive the holy rite of baptism. "Life," said he, "is always uncertain, but especially in battle; for there it is endangered by arrows, darts, spears, swords, and a multitude of other weapons designed to inflict death. It is therefore necessary that each of you should be habited in that robe of which we shall stand most in need in the next life. If there be any one among you who desires to delay

receiving this robe, let him now return to his own home, for those who have not submitted to this ordinance shall not engage in battle."

CHAPTER IV.

RETURN OF THE BISHOPS FROM EXILE.

JULIAN being acquainted with all these facts, did not openly manifest the impiety of his principles. In order to conciliate the good-will of all parties he recalled to their own churches those bishops who had been banished by Constantius to the furthest extremities of the earth. As soon as this decree was issued, the holy Melitius returned to Antioch, and the celebrated Athanasius to Alexandria. Eusebius and Hilarius, bishops of Italy, and Lucifer, bishop of the isle of Sardinia, were then in Thebes, a province of Egypt, where they had been banished by Constantius. They assembled for deliberation with some other bishops of the same sentiments as themselves; for it was necessary, they said, that the churches should be reunited by one standard of doctrine, hostility being not only manifested by the adversaries, but the very members of the church being divided against each other. For, in Antioch, the orthodox part of the church was divided into two sections. The first consisted of those who had seceded on account of the renowned Eustathius: the other party comprised those who had withdrawn with the excellent Melitius, and who celebrated the divine service* in the old city.

* Λειτουργία.

Both parties held the same confession of faith, and maintained the doctrines which had been confirmed at Nice. They only kept aloof from each other from a spirit of contention, and on account of the preference which they felt for their respective bishops. The death of one of these bishops did not allay the discord, for Eustathius having died before Melitius was ordained, and those who adhered to religion having seceded subsequently to the exile of Melitius and the ordination of Euzoius, those separatists who bore the name of Eustathius could not be induced to join them. Endeavours were made, as above related, by Eusebius and Lucifer, to effect a re-union. Eusebius begged Lucifer to go to Alexandria, and to consult the great Athanasius on the subject; and he himself undertook the task of re-establishing concord.

CHAPTER V.

ORDINATION OF PAULINUS.

Lucifer, however, did not go to Alexandria. He went over to Antioch, where he repeatedly exhorted each party to union. But perceiving that the Eustathians opposed the end which he had in view, he appointed Paulinus, who was a presbyter, and the chief of their faction, to be bishop. This was not right on his part; it increased the dissension which continued eighty-five years, not terminating till the time of Alexander, a bishop worthy of the highest fame. As soon as he was appointed bishop over the church of Antioch, he laboured earnestly, and with

success, in restoring concord, and in re-uniting those members of the church who had been disjoined from the rest of the body.

Lucifer, who had been instrumental in augmenting the dissensions, remained during a long period at Antioch. When Eusebius repaired thither, he found that the evil, far from having been removed, had, by such unwise measures, been rendered incurable: he then departed and sailed towards the West. Lucifer returned to Sardinia, and added certain doctrines to those of the church. Those who embraced these doctrines received his name, and were called Luciferians for some time after. These doctrines, however, became extinct, and were forgotten.

These were the circumstances which occurred after the return of the bishops from exile.

CHAPTER VI.

ACCOUNT OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES BY WHICH JULIAN WAS LED, THROUGH ENVY AND NOT FROM BENEVOLENCE, TO REFRAIN FROM PUBLICLY SLAYING THE CHRISTIANS.

JULIAN'S avowal of his own impiety filled the cities with sedition. Those who were addicted to the worship of idols were emboldened to open their idolatrous temples, and to celebrate those detestable mysteries which deserve to be for ever buried in oblivion. They kindled fire on their altars, polluted the earth by the blood of their victims, and the air by the smoke and odour of the sacrifices. Being

agitated by the demons whom they adored, they ran furiously about the market places like the Corybantes. They assaulted and insulted all the holy men, and omitted no kind of reproach and invective which could be cast on them. Those who professed religion, being unable to bear with their impiety, reviled them in return, and inveighed against the errors which they had embraced. Incensed at these rebukes they took advantage of the protection afforded them by the emperor, to retort by the infliction of irreparable injuries. This detestable emperor, instead of establishing peace, as he ought to have done, excited the people against each other, and winked at the crimes perpetrated by the more audacious members of society against those who were the most gentle. He bestowed the highest civil and military offices upon the most cruel and impious of his subjects. These officers, though they did not compel the Christians by open force to sacrifice to idols, yet treated them with every species of indignity. The privileges accorded to the clergy by Constantine the Great were abolished.

CHAPTER VII.

ATTACKS MADE ON THE CHRISTIANS BY THE PAGANS WHO HAD BEEN RAISED TO POWER BY JULIAN.

ALTHOUGH the audacious actions committed by the idolaters, at this period, were so numerous that it seems requisite that a whole book should be devoted to the narration of them, I shall select a few from the number to relate here. At Askelon and at Gaza,

which are both cities of Palestine, they seized men truly worthy of the priesthood, and women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and after having torn open their stomachs, they filled them with barley, and threw them to the pigs to be devoured. In Sebaste, a city of the same province, they opened the coffin of John the Baptist, burnt his bones, and flung away the ashes. Who can relate without tears the detestable action which they perpetrated in Phœnicia? In Heliopolis, a city near Libanus, dwelt Cyril a deacon. Acting under the impulse of ardent zeal, he had here, during the reign of Constantius, destroyed many of the idols. These impious men not only killed him in remembrance of this act, but after having ripped up his stomach they ate his liver. This atrocious deed did not elude the observation and the punishment of Divine Justice. All those who took part in it lost their teeth, which fell out one after the other. Then they lost their tongues, which decayed in their mouths: at length they also lost their eyes, and thus perceived the power of religion by their sufferings. At Emessa, a city of the same region, the idolaters desecrated a church which had been recently erected, and dedicated it to Bacchus Androgynes, and placed within it the ridiculous hermaphrodite statue of that idol. At Dorostolis, a celebrated city of Thrace, Emilius, an undaunted champion of the faith, was thrown into the flames by Capitolinus governor of the province. It would require the descriptive powers of Æschylus and of Sophocles to relate the tragical sufferings endured by Marcus, bishop of Arethusa. He had during the reign of Constantius destroyed an idolatrous

temple and erected a Christian church in its stead: the inhabitants of the city, therefore, on learning the bent of Julian's mind, openly avowed their hostility against their bishop. He at first, according to the precept of the gospel, attempted to save himself by flight; but hearing that some individuals had been arrested instead of him, he returned, and delivered himself up to his executioners. These men showed no pity for his age, nor respect for his virtues. Notwithstanding his holy course of life and his admirable mode of teaching, they seized him, stripped him naked, and lacerated him with scourgings. They then threw him into the fœtid sewers, and, after drawing him out, they delivered him to the youths of the city, commanding them to pierce him with the points of their writing implements.* After these cruel inflictions they thrust him into a basket, anointed him with a kind of pickle, and with honey, and, suspending him where the heat was most excessive, left him to attacks of wasps and bees. These sufferings were inflicted by his torturers in order to compel him either to rebuild the temple which he had demolished, or else to furnish money for its re-erection. But all the torments which he underwent did not induce him to promise what was demanded. It then occurred to the citizens that poverty might probably be the cause of his refusing the money, and they offered to reduce the sum specified to one half the amount. But although he was suspended in the air, his flesh punctured with the points of writing implements, and stung by wasps and bees, he did not manifest the

* Γραφίς.

slightest sense of pain; and he even ridiculed the evil men around him, and told them that they were crawling on the earth while he was elevated towards heaven. At length they moderated their demands to a very inconsiderable sum of money. He replied that it would be as impious to give an obolus* as to give the whole sum. Being thus defeated in their attempts, they released him, but not without the highest admiration of his fortitude. They were converted, and learnt from his lips the doctrines of religion.

CHAPTER VIII.

LAWS ENACTED AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

Many other crimes were perpetrated about this time by the irreligious against the pious, both at sea and on land; for the ungodly emperor had enacted laws against religion. The first of these laws prohibited the children of Galileans, for this was the name he gave to Christians, from being instructed in poetry, rhetoric, or philosophy. "For we," said he, "are, according to the old proverb, smitten by our own wings; for our authors furnish weapons to carry on war against us." It was enjoined by the other law, that the Galileans should be expelled from the army.

* A coin worth five farthings and a half.

CHAPTER IX.

BANISHMENT AND FLIGHT OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

At this juncture Athanasius, that heroic combatant and champion of truth, was again exposed to another perilous conflict. The demons, not being able to resist the power of the teaching, and of the prayers of Athanasius, furnished their own agents with invectives against him. Among other statements which they laid before the patron of impiety, to induce him to expel Athanasius, they told him, that if the bishop were suffered to remain unmolested, there would not be one Pagan left, for that he led them all to espouse his own sentiments. Julian acceded to their petition, and commanded that Athanasius should not only be banished, but that he should be put to death. The followers of Athanasius were struck with horror at this announcement; but he said to them, "This commotion will quickly terminate: it is a cloud which appears and then vanishes away." He however retired when he heard of the arrival of those sent to carry the edict into execution; and finding a vessel lying near the bank of the stream, he embarked and sailed to Thebes. Those who had been commanded to kill him, on being apprised of his escape, pursued him with all their might. One of his friends, however, distanced them in the pursuit; and, on his communicating the intelligence, those who were with Athanasius besought him to disembark, and to flee to the desert. He, however, directed the helmsman to

steer straight to Alexandria. While they were pursuing this course, the officer who was entrusted with the command of slaying him overtook him, and asked him where Athanasius was. "He is near," replied he; and passed on. He reached Alexandria, and remained there in concealment during the rest of Julian's life.

CHAPTER X.

EVENTS RELATING TO THE DAPHNEAN APOLLO, AND TO ST. BABYLAS.

JULIAN, being desirous of declaring war against the Persians, sent his most faithful friends to consult all the principal oracles of the Roman empire. He went himself to the Pythian Apollo of Daphne, beseeching him to reveal to him the future. The soothsayer replied, that it would be required first to remove the dead bodies which were lying in the neighbourhood to some other region, for that they obstructed the deliverance of the oracles; and that, upon their removal, the future would be disclosed. The remains of the triumphant martyr, Babylas, and of the young men who were slain with him, were at this period lying in the neighbourhood. It was evident that the delivery of the deceitful oracles was prevented by the presence of those holy corpses. This was clearly perceived by Julian, who, from the religion in which he had been formerly instructed, had learnt the power of the martyrs. On this account he would not remove any of the corpses himself, but commanded

the followers of Christ to carry away the remains of these triumphant martyrs. The whole body of Christians accordingly repaired with great exultation to the sacred grove, placed these remains in a car drawn by two horses, and thus conveyed them to the city. All the Christians followed, singing the psalms of David, and at every interval repeating these words, "Let all those who adore graven images be confounded." The Christians regarded this removal of the martyrs as a triumph gained over the demons.

CHAPTER XI.

FIDELITY OF THEODORE.

JULIAN, unable to bear the humiliation which this procedure cast upon him, commanded the next day that the leaders of the procession should be arrested. Salustius, who was at this period a vice-governor, and who had enlisted in the service of impiety, persuaded the tyrant not to grant to the Christians the glory of martyrdom, which they so earnestly desired. But when he perceived that the emperor was unable to curb his fury, he commanded the arrest of a young man deeply imbued with divine zeal, who was then walking in the market-place. He had him stretched on the rack in the presence of all the people, and ordered his shoulders to be torn with scourging, and his sides with nails. To this treatment he was subjected from the dawn of day until its close. He was then bound with iron chains and cast into prison. The next morning Salustius informed Julian of these

inflictions, described the fortitude of the young man, and said, that such cruelties were degrading to their own party, and conferred glory on the Christians. This impious emperor was induced by these arguments to desist from further acts of vengeance; and he released Theodore (for this was the name of the young and generous defender of the truth) from prison. Some persons having afterwards asked the young man whether he did not suffer extreme anguish while subjected to these cruel and severe tortures, he replied, that at first he did suffer a few pangs; but that afterwards there appeared one who wiped off the perspiration from his face with soft and cooling linen, and who animated him to take courage. He said that, when the people ceased from torturing him, he did not rejoice, but was, on the contrary, grieved, because his solacer quitted him at the same time.

The imposture practised at the oracle by artful demons was detected, and the fame of the martyrs increased. A thunderbolt fell from heaven, burnt the whole of the temple, and reduced the statue of Apollo to ashes; for this statue was only composed of wood, with a gilded surface. Julian, the governor of the East, who was the uncle of the emperor Julian, being informed during the night of the conflagration, immediately hastened to the assistance of the god whom he adored. Perceiving, on his arrival at Daphne, that his god was reduced to ashes, he suspected that this act of incendiarism had been committed by the Christians, and put those who guarded the temple to the torture in order to elicit the truth. But they could not be compelled, by torture, to declare that

which was false. They said that the fire had fallen down from heaven, and that some peasants who were returning from the neighbourhood had witnessed its descent.

CHAPTER XII.

CONFISCATION OF THE HOLY TREASURES AND VESSELS.

Although these impious men were thus put in possession of the facts just as they occurred, they still exerted their whole strength to oppose God. The tyrant commanded that the holy ornaments should be taken to the royal treasury, and ordered the spacious church built by Constantine to be closed; thus preventing the Arians, into whose hands it had then fallen, from assembling in it. Felix, the treasurer of the emperor, and Elpidius, who was entrusted with the superintendence of the emperor's private possessions, being, what was termed by the Romans, the count or treasurer of the private estate, went with Julian, the governor of the East, into the holy temple. Felix and Elpidius, it is said, were once Christians, but apostatised from the true religion in order to please the impious emperor. It is related, that Julian committed an act of indecency by the holy altar,* and struck Euzoius because he tried to restrain him from the deed. He said, that the concerns of Christians were not under the care of Divine Providence. Felix, after examining the holy vessels, which were of great magnificence, having been constructed by order

* Τράπεζα.

of Constantine and Constantius, exclaimed, "Behold, in what kind of vessels the Son of Mary is ministered unto."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE IMPIETY OF JULIAN, THE UNCLE OF THE EMPEROR, AND LIKEWISE THAT OF HIS COMPANIONS, VISITED BY DIVINE VENGEANCE.

This act of impiety and of daring iniquity did not long escape the hand of Justice. Julian was almost instantaneously seized with a loathsome disease. Putrefaction arose in his intestines, and his excrements, instead of being conveyed through the ordinary channel, were propelled upwards into that wretched mouth which had been used as the instrument of blasphemy. It is related, that his wife, who was eminent for faith, said to him, "You ought to praise Christ the Saviour, for having, by this chastisement, revealed to you his power; for you would never have known towards whom you were evincing so much hostility, had He, with His usual long-suffering, exempted you from affliction." These words, and the agonies which he suffered, led him to discern the cause of his disease, and he besought the emperor to restore the church to those from whom it had been taken; but he died without obtaining his request. Felix was also struck by Divine Justice: the blood rushed from every part of his body, and issued day and night from his mouth. This total effusion of blood terminated his life, and he passed away into

eternal death. Such were the judgments visited on iniquity.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONVERSION OF A PRIEST'S SON.

A CERTAIN young man, the son of an idolatrous priest, who had been brought up in Paganism, was, about this time, led to embrace the true religion. A certain woman of great piety, who had been raised to the dignity of deaconess, was very intimate with his mother, and used frequently to visit her when he was a child: on these occasions she used to caress him and to exhort him to piety. In the mean time the mother died; and the young man used then to repair to the woman to receive her instructions. When he was fully convinced of the truth of what she had imparted, he asked his teacher by what means he could throw off the superstition of his father, and follow out the truth which she had preached to him. She replied, that he must flee from his father, and honour his Creator above his earthly parent. She told him to go to some other city, and to remain there in concealment, lest he should fall into the hands of the impious emperor. She promised to take upon herself the management of this affair. The youth replied, "From henceforth I shall come to you; and I shall commit my life into your keeping." A short time subsequently, Julian went to Daphne to hold a public festival. The father of this young man repaired thither also, because he was a priest, and had

long been accustomed to follow the emperor. This young man and his brother accompanied their father. It was the custom for these youths to sprinkle water which had been offered to idols on the viands prepared for the emperor. The festival celebrated at Daphne usually lasted seven days. The first day of the festival, the young man above-mentioned stood by the couch of the emperor, and sprinkled the water on his food, according to custom; but he had no sooner completed this iniquitous ceremony, than he hastened back to Antioch. He went to his admirable instructress, and said to her, "I am come to you, according to my promise; do you fulfil yours, and take measures for my deliverance." She conducted him to Meletius, a man of God; he kept the young man concealed for a long time in part of his house. The father, after having traversed Daphne in search of his son, returned to Antioch, ran through all the streets of the city, and examined every spot, anxiously seeking some traces of him. When he arrived at the quarter of the city where the house of St. Meletius was situated, he looked up, and perceived his son peeping through the rails. He ran into the house, seized him, and led him away. He took him home, and immediately flogged him severely; he then took a pointed instrument, made it red hot, and forced it into his hands, feet, and back. After that he shut him up in a room, fastened it securely outside, and returned to Daphne. I have heard all these incidents related by the son himself in his old age. He likewise told us that, being inspired with divine grace, he destroyed all his father's idols, and ridiculed their

helplessness; and that afterwards, on reflecting on what he had done, he dreaded the return of his father, and called upon the Lord Christ to assist him, and to burst the bolts of the door, saying, "These things have I done and suffered for thy sake. As I was saying these words," continued he, "the bolts fell down, and the doors burst open. I then ran back to my teacher. She disguised me in the dress of a female, and drove with me in a vehicle to St. Meletius. He gave me into the care of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, with whom I set out by night for Palestine." After the death of Julian, he led his father to receive the truth. This, with many other incidents, he related to us. Such is the delivery wrought out for those who are brought to the knowledge of God.

CHAPTER XV.

MARTYRDOM OF THE TWO ROMANS, JUVENTIUS AND MAXIMUS.

Julian continued to oppose religion with greater and greater boldness and effrontery, while he assumed the specious appearance of clemency, in order to lay snares to entrap men, and seduce them to irreligion. He cast things offered to idols into the fountains of the city of Antioch, and into those of Daphne, so that no one could drink of the streams without partaking of the hateful sacrifices. He defiled in the same way every thing that was sold in the market-place; for he had water which had been offered to idols sprinkled on the bread, meat, fruit, herbs, and all the other

articles of food. The Christians wept and lamented at witnessing these abominations, yet they partook of the food according to the precept of the apostle; for it is said, "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake" (1 Cor. x. 25). Two of the emperor's guards, who were his shield-bearers and companions in arms, vehemently deplored, at a certain convivial party, the perpetration of such hateful deeds, and borrowed the admirable words used by the young man who gained so high a celebrity at Babylon; "You have delivered us," they said, "to a monarch who is more wicked than all the nations of the earth." One of those at table acquainted the emperor with this speech. The emperor sent for these two men, and asked what it was that they had said. This question giving them an opportunity of speaking freely, they, in the warmth of their zeal, made the following reply: "Having been brought up, O emperor, in the true religion, and having been accustomed to obey the admirable laws enacted by Constantine, and by his sons, we cannot but be deeply grieved at witnessing every thing filled with abominations, and the very food contaminated by being mixed with the sacrifices offered to idols. We have lamented over this in our own houses, and now, in your presence, we publicly express our regret. This is the only cause of sorrow which we experience under your government." On hearing these words the mildest and wisest of emperors, as he is called by those who resemble him, threw off the mask of clemency, and disclosed his real impiety. Such excruciating tortures were at his order inflicted on these

two men, that they expired under them; or, rather, they obtained a release from the misery of the age, and received the crowns of victory. It was declared, that their boldness of speech, and not the religion which they defended, was the cause of their execution: they were punished, it was said, because they had insulted the emperor. This account of the transaction Julian ordered to be universally circulated; for he was apprehensive lest these champions of truth should obtain the honour of being regarded as martyrs. Their names were Juventius and Maximus. The church of Antioch honoured them as defenders of religion, and interred them in a magnificent tomb; and even to this day an annual festival is celebrated in their honour.

CHAPTER XVI.

BANISHMENT OF VALENTINIAN, WHO SUBSEQUENTLY BECAME EMPEROR.

Other persons, who had attained to high and honourable offices, gained the same crown by speaking with similar boldness. Valentinian ascended the throne a short time subsequently: but he was, at this period, the commander* of the soldiers who guarded the palace; he did not dissemble the zeal which he felt for religion. One day, as the emperor was entering the temple of Fortune with great exultation, while two priests stood on each side of the door to sprinkle water on whoever they might deem fit; some

* Χιλίαρχος.

of the water was thrown upon the robe of Valentinian, who was walking before the emperor. He immediately struck the priest, and told him that he had defiled instead of cleansing him. By this act he deserved to obtain both empires. Julian, who witnessed the deed, banished him to a fortress situated by a desert. But scarcely had one year and a few months elapsed, when his fidelity to the faith was rewarded by the possession of the imperial authority. It is not only in this life that piety is rewarded by Divine Justice. Yet even here, good works receive those recompenses which are as a foretaste and the earnest of the future blessedness for which we hope.

The tyrant adopted another stratagem against religion. It was an ancient usage for the emperor to sit upon his throne, and to distribute pieces of gold among his soldiery. But, contrary to custom, he ordered incense and fire to be placed on a table near the altar; and he commanded, that whoever should come forward to receive the gold, should first throw incense upon the altar, and should then receive the gold from his hand. Many persons did not discern the trap which was laid for them: those who did perceive it avoided the snare by feigning illness. Others, grasping after the money, neglected their own salvation. Others, from cowardice, betrayed their religion.

CHAPTER XVII.

OTHER CONFESSORS OF THE FAITH.

After this destructive distribution of money, some of those who had accepted it met together at table. One of them, taking up a goblet, made on it the sign of the cross before he drank. He was reproved for doing so by one of the others, who told him, that this act was quite inconsistent with what he had so recently done. He asked, what act of inconsistency he had committed. He was told, that he had offered incense upon the altar of idols, and had denied the faith, and that this was contrary to the Christian religion. On hearing this, many of those who were at table uttered exclamations of grief and distress, tore their hair, and ran out into the market-place, loudly proclaiming that they were Christians, and that they had been deceived and inveigled by the artifices of the emperor, and that they desired to retract the error into which they had been led through ignorance. They ran shouting these words till they reached the palace, and there they inveighed against the deception of the tyrant, and demanded to be burnt alive; because, as they had been defiled by means of fire, they also desired to be cleansed by fire. These, and similar declarations, excited the fury of the emperor. He immediately ordered their heads to be struck off. As they were being led out of the city, the people followed in crowds, admiring their fortitude and boldness in defending religion. When they had arrived

at the place where executions generally took place, the eldest of the company requested the executioner to behead the youngest person present first, in order that his courage might not be shaken by witnessing the slaughter of the others. The youngest man had already knelt upon the ground, and the executioner had unsheathed his sword, when an act of pardon was brought, and shouts proceeding from afar prohibited the massacre. The young man was angry at having escaped the sentence of death, and exclaimed, "Romanus (for that was his name) is not worthy of being called the martyr of Christ." The emperor, in prohibiting this massacre, was actuated by the most malign jealousy; for he envied them the glory of martyrdom. He would not, however, permit these soldiers to continue to dwell in any of the cities, but banished them to the furthest extremities of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MARTYRDOM OF ARTEMIUS.

ARTEMIUS, who held the office of military commander in Egypt, having, during the reign of Constantine, destroyed some idols, was, in consequence, not only deprived of all his property, but was also beheaded. Such were the actions of him who was called by the irreligious party, "The mildest and the least passionate of men." I shall here relate an admirable deed performed by a woman; for women

were likewise animated by divine zeal, and enabled to despise the fury of the emperor.

CHAPTER XIX.

BOLDNESS OF PUBLIA, THE DEACONESS, IN ADHERING TO RELIGION.

A CERTAIN woman, named Publia, had about this time acquired great celebrity by her eminent virtues. She had been married a short time, and had had a child, which she had offered to God. This child, whose name was John, was afterwards enrolled among the presbytery at Antioch, and was several times elected to the bishopric of Antioch; but he as often, from modesty, declined the dignity. She had at her house an assembly of young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and who continually sung the praises of the Creator and Saviour. When the emperor was passing, they sang louder than usual, to show the contempt with which they regarded his profanity: they chiefly sang those psalms in which the weakness of idols is derided; and they exclaimed, with David, "The idols of the nations are but silver and gold, the works of men's hands." And after having described the senselessness of idols, they said, "Let those who made them, and all those who trust in them, become like unto them." When Julian heard them singing he was much vexed, and commanded them to be silent whenever he should pass that way. Far from obeying this mandate, Publia directed the virgins to sing still louder than before,

and to repeat this verse, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered." Julian, more enraged than ever, desired that the leader of the choir should be brought before him. He showed no respect for her age or virtue; but called one of the soldiers, and commanded him to give her a blow on each side of her face. Publia esteemed this insult as the highest honour. She returned to her house, and continued to harass the emperor with spiritual songs, in the same way as he who wrote the psalms repressed the evil spirit which agitated Saul.

CHAPTER XX.

ATTEMPT MADE BY THE JEWS TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE, AND THE JUDGMENTS WHICH THEY SUFFERED IN CONSEQUENCE.

Julian, being possessed by the most evil demons, became like the Corybantes, and raved against religion. This fury led him to arm the Jews against the Christians. He sent for them, and asked them why they did not offer sacrifices according to the injunctions of the law. When they told him that it was written, that sacrifices should be offered only at Jerusalem, this impious man commanded them to rebuild their temple, foolishly imagining to confute the prediction of the Lord concerning it. Yet he thus manifested more fully the truth of the prophecy. The Jews, who had gladly hearkened to the proposal of the emperor, made it known to all those of their nation who were dispersed throughout the habitable

globe. These eagerly hastened from all quarters, and joyfully offered their wealth and their labour in furtherance of so great a work. Julian also contributed largely to the enterprise, not from the love of honour, but merely to combat the truth; and he sent an officer worthy of superintending so impious an undertaking. It is even said that they had the spades, mattocks, and baskets, made of silver. Innumerable multitudes of men began to dig the ground, and to bear away to a valley the mounds of earth dug from the excavations; but all the mounds which they carried away during the day, spontaneously returned during the night to their former location. They destroyed whatever remained of the edifice, in the hope of constructing it entirely anew. When they had succeeded in obtaining an immense quantity of plaster and of clay, violent winds, whirlwinds, and tempests arose, which scattered about these materials in all directions. As they could not be led by the long-suffering of God to desist from their evil attempts, a violent earthquake took place, which filled all those who had not been instructed in religion with terror and consternation. But as the Jews were not moved to fear by this occurrence, fire was made to burst from the excavations dug for the foundations. Many of those who were at work there were burnt, and all the others were compelled to flee. That night also a portico, within which many were sleeping, fell down, with the roof of the building, and all those who were within it were destroyed. On that very night, and likewise on the following one, the figure of the Saviour's cross appeared in the heavens.

The garments of the Jews seemed covered with crosses; but they were not radiant like those in the heavens, but were of a blackish hue. When they had thus perceived that God was hostile to their undertaking, they trembled lest still greater judgments should fall upon them; and they therefore returned to their own dwellings, confessing that He whom their forefathers had crucified was God in truth. These facts, being rumoured far and wide, reached the ears of Julian: but, like Pharaoh, he madly hardened his heart.

CHAPTER XXI.

EXPEDITION OF JULIAN AGAINST PERSIA.

When the Persians heard of the death of Constantius, they became more bold, and carried war into the Roman territories. Julian, accordingly, determined to march against them, although he had not God for his protection. He first sent, however, to the oracles of Delphi, of Delos, of Dodona, and of other places, to enquire whether he ought to enter upon the war. The oracles desired him to undertake it, and promised him the victory. I shall here insert the reply of one of these oracles, in order to demonstrate the imposture practised. It was couched in these words: "We, the gods, are ready to bear the trophies of victory along the river which bears the name of a wild beast. I, the fierce and warlike Mars, will lead the others." Those who style Apollo the god of eloquence and the patron of the Muses, must

surely smile at the inanity of these words. I see through this imposture, and pity him who can be deceived. By the river bearing the name of a wild beast, Julian understood that the Tigris was meant. This river rises in the mountains of Armenia, flows through Assyria, and falls into the Persian gulph. The wretched emperor being thus deceived by the oracles, promised himself the victory, and resolved that after he had terminated the Persian war, he would commence another against the Galileans. He named the Christians *Galileans* in order to cast dishonour on them; but being a learned man he ought to have known that the mutation of a name could not lessen the estimation in which they were held. Had Socrates been called Critia, or had Pythagoras been named Phalaris, this change of appellation would have thrown no aspersion on them. Had Nereus been called Thersites, none of that beauty which nature had conferred would have been diminished. But Julian had forgotten all these facts, although he had formerly been made well acquainted with them; and he imagined that he was injuring us by giving us a name different from our own. He placed so much confidence in the lying oracles, that he threatened to erect on Christian churches the statue of the demon of licentiousness.

CHAPTER XXII.

BOLDNESS OF A DECURION OF BERŒA.

Before Julian had carried his numerous threats into execution, he was himself vanquished by one

single man at Berœa. It is true that this man was rendered conspicuous by his high rank; for he was invested with one of the chief offices in the city: but his zeal reflected a yet higher lustre upon his character. When he discovered that his son had apostatized to the dominant form of irreligion, he expelled him from his house, and publicly disinherited him. The son repaired to the emperor, who was then in the neighbourhood of the city, and acquainted him with his own change of sentiments, and of his having been disinherited by his father. The emperor desired the young man to be tranquil, and promised to reconcile his father to him. When he arrived at Berœa, he invited the principal citizens to a banquet. Amongst them was the father of the young man. He ordered the father and the son to sit upon the couch upon which he was himself reclining; and in the midst of the repast he said to the father, "It does not seem just to me to force the inclinations of any one. Do not then constrain those of your son, but allow him to adopt whatever doctrines he may please. I do not compel you," continued he, "to follow my religion, although I could most easily oblige you to do so." Then the father, inspired by divine faith, replied as follows: "Do you speak to me, O emperor, in favour of a wicked and impious creature who has preferred falsehood to truth?" The emperor, with a specious appearance of gentleness, here interrupted him, saying, "I beg you to desist from all invectives." Then, turning towards the youth, he said, "I shall myself take care of you, since I cannot persuade your father to do so." I have not related this incident without a

motive; for I desired not only to record the bold fidelity of this admirable man, but also to show that the power of the tyrant was despised by many individuals.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PREDICTION OF A SCHOOLMASTER.

There was in Antioch a very illustrious man, who held the office of public teacher, and who, possessing much more erudition than the generality of schoolmasters, was received on terms of intimacy by Libanus, a celebrated sophist and one of the most learned men of the time. This latter was a Pagan, and expecting from the threats of Julian that idolatry would speedily become triumphant over Christianity, asked the schoolmaster, in derision of our religion, what the son of the carpenter was doing. The other, filled by the grace of God, predicted what would shortly happen. "The Creator of the universe," said he, "whom you deride, and call the son of the carpenter, is now preparing a bier." A few days after, the death of the tyrant was announced, and his body was carried to the city on a bier. Thus his threats were made vain, and God was glorified.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROPHECY OF ST. JULIAN, A MONK.

Julian, whose name, in the Syrian language, was Sabbas, led a spiritual life, although he was still in

the body. I have written his history in my work entitled "Philotheus." He became more earnest in offering supplications to God when he was informed of the threats of Julian. On the same day that Julian received the stroke of death, the event was revealed to him as he was at prayer, although his monastery was situated at a distance of more than twenty days' journey from the Roman camp. For it is said that while he was presenting his supplications to God with tears and lamentations, his tears suddenly ceased to flow, and his face assumed a joyful and serene expression, showing forth the gladness of his soul. Some of his friends, remarking this change, enquired the cause of his joy; he told them, that the wild boar which had ravaged the vineyard of the Lord had received the just recompense of his unlawful deeds, that he was lying dead, and that his evil designs were averted. All those present rejoiced on receiving this information; and expressed their thankfulness to God by singing hymns. Those who afterwards announced the emperor's death affirmed that it took place on the very day and hour predicted by the blessed old man.

CHAPTER XXV.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JULIAN IN PERSIA.

THE imprudence of the emperor was manifested by the mode of his death. When he and his army had passed the river which separates the Persian from the Roman dominions, he burnt his ships, in order that

the soldiery might fight not by persuasion but by compulsion. The most distinguished commanders have always inspired their troops with alacrity, and when discouragements have arisen, they have roused their expectations and animated their hopes. But this emperor, on the contrary, discouraged his soldiers by burning the vessels, and destroying their hopes of returning to their own country. In addition to this act of imprudence, the wise emperor neglected to provide the requisite supplies of food for his army; for he neither directed provisions to be brought from the provinces of his own empire, nor did he take measures to obtain them by making depredations on the enemy's territories. He led his troops far away from all inhabited places, and made them march through a desert. Oppressed by hunger and by thirst, and without any efficient guide, the soldiers were compelled to wander about in the desert, through the imprudence of this wisest of emperors. In the very midst of their consequent complaints and lamentations, they beheld him who was madly contending with his Creator fall down wounded: he was unaided by the warlike Mars who had promised his support; unassisted by Apollo who had given so false and perplexing an oracle; and even Jove the thunderer did not hurl one of his thunder-bolts against him by whom he was slain. Thus were his threats overthrown, and shown to be vain. No one knows even to this day, by whom this mortal blow, which he had so justly deserved, was inflicted. Some say that it was by one of the invisible order of beings, others that it was by the hand of an individual belonging to

one of the nomadic tribes generally called Ishmaelites; others say that he was killed by a soldier reduced to despair by hunger, and by wandering in the desert. But whether the sword were that of an angel or of a man, certain it is that whoever committed the deed was but the instrument of the Divine will. It is said that, directly after he had received the wound, Julian took some of the blood in his hand, and threw it up towards heaven, saying, "Galilean! thou hast conquered!" So great was his stupidity, that thus, at one and the same instant, he acknowledged his defeat, and gave utterance to blasphemy.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ABOMINABLE SORCERIES DETECTED, AFTER THE DEATH OF JULIAN, AT CARRAS.

After the murder of Julian, his magical arts and incantations were discovered. At Carras may even now be seen vestiges of his impiety. When this foolish man was passing through this city (for he had left the city of Edessa, on account of the reputation enjoyed by its inhabitants for piety), he entered an idolatrous temple with his associates, committed some infamous crimes, and then ordered the gates to be closed, and the place to be guarded by soldiers, so that no one might enter until his return. After his death, when a religious prince had succeeded to his throne, the interior of the temple was examined. A woman was discovered suspended by the hair; her hands were stretched out, and her stomach was cut

open. This had been done by the infamous emperor, who had sought to learn the issue of the Persian war by the inspection of her liver. Thus was the hateful deed detected at Carras.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HEADS OF MEN FOUND IN THE PALACE OF ANTIOCH.

It is said that in Julian's palace at Antioch several chests were found full of the heads of men; and that many dungeons were discovered filled with dead bodies. Such are the lessons inculcated by the abominable gods.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PUBLIC REJOICINGS IN ANTIOCH.

As soon as the death of Julian was known in Antioch, public festivals were celebrated. The victory of the cross was extolled, and the imposture of the oracles was ridiculed, not only in the churches and in the assemblies of the martyrs, but also in the theatres. I shall now record an admirable speech made by the citizens of Antioch, in order that it may be preserved in our memory. They all exclaimed with one voice, "Where now are thy predictions, O foolish Maximus? God and Christ have prevailed against thee." This Maximus was a philosopher of that time, who was engaged in magical arts, and who boasted of being able to predict the future. Julian

perceived very clearly the horror with which his evil and impure deeds were regarded by the inhabitants of Antioch; for they, having been instructed in the divine doctrines by Peter and by Paul, ardently loved the Lord of all and the Saviour. On this account, Julian wrote a book against them, entitled "Aversion to Beards."*

I shall conclude this book with this mention of the public rejoicings at the death of the tyrant. It would not be right to connect the reign of a pious prince with the sway of an impious tyrant.

* Μισοπώγωνα.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

BOOK IV.—CHAPTER I.

REIGN AND PIETY OF JOVIAN.

Upon the death of Julian, the governors of the provinces, and the military commanders, assembled together to determine who was capable of wielding the imperial power, of extricating the army from the enemy's country, and of raising the affairs of the Romans from the critical state to which they had been reduced by the rashness of the late emperor. In the mean time the soldiers likewise assembled, and demanded Jovian for their emperor. He was neither a general nor a tribune, but was an exemplary man, and distinguished by many natural endowments. He was of very tall stature, and his mind was of a high order. He had always manifested great valour in battle, and also in conflicts far more perilous than those of war; for he had frequently spoken with boldness against impiety, without fearing the power of the tyrant, and had exhibited as much courage as was displayed by the martyrs of our Saviour. The generals considered the unanimity of the soldiers' decision as an indication of the Divine will; they therefore conducted Jovian into the midst of them all, and placed him upon a temporary throne which they had hastily erected. When he was saluted by all as Emperor, and called Augustus and Cæsar, this admirable man, with his usual frankness, and without fearing the power of the chiefs, or the inconstancy

of the soldiery, spoke as follows:—"Being a Christian myself, I cannot assume authority over such men as you are: I cannot govern the troops of Julian, for they have imbibed pernicious doctrines; and persons of such principles, being unsupported by Divine grace, fall an easy prey to their enemies, and are ridiculed by them." On hearing this the soldiers replied with one voice:—"Do not hesitate, O emperor, or shrink from accepting authority over us, as if we held impious sentiments; you will reign over Christians: over those who were brought up in the true religion. The most aged among us have been instructed in doctrine by Constantine, and the others by Constantius; and the reign of the late emperor was too short to efface the remembrance of the principles which we had imbibed."

CHAPTER II.

RETURN OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

THE emperor, being satisfied with this answer, turned all his attention to the restoration of public prosperity, and to the extrication of the army from the enemy's country. He did not spend much time in deliberation, but speedily enjoyed the fruits of his piety, for God granted him His protection, and delivered him from all his difficulties. The king of Persia, hearing of his having been elected to the empire, sent deputies to treat of peace. He also sent food to the army in the desert. Jovian concluded a truce of thirty years, and conducted the army home

in safety. The first edict which he issued on his return to his empire, was for the recall of the bishops from exile, and for the re-instatement of those bishops who adhered to the Nicean confession of faith. He wrote to Athanasius, who was the most distinguished of those who defended the faith, desiring him to send him an accurate account of the divine doctrines. Athanasius, after calling together the most erudite of the bishops, wrote back to the emperor exhorting him to maintain the faith set forth at Nice, as being conformable with the doctrines of the apostles. I shall insert this letter for the benefit of my readers.

CHAPTER III.

SYNODICAL LETTER RESPECTING THE FAITH ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR JOVIAN BY ST. ATHANASIUS.

"To the very religious, most benevolent and victorious Augustus Jovian, from Athanasius and the other bishops assembled in person, from all Egypt, from Thebes, and from Lybia.

"It is right for a pious emperor to seek and long after the knowledge of heavenly things. It clearly proves that your heart is in the hand of God, and that you will govern the empire in tranquillity during a long course of years. As you piously desire to learn from us the faith of the Catholic Church, we have, after rendering thanks on your behalf to God, determined above all things to propound to you the faith confessed by our fathers at Nice. Some having renounced this faith, have laid various snares for us,

because we would not be led into the Arian heresy. These persons are the authors of heresy and of schism in the Catholic Church. The true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ can be apprehended by all, for it may be both learnt and read in the holy Scriptures. It was in this faith that the saints were perfected by martyrdom; they are now freed from all bondage, and are in the Lord. This faith would have continued for ever in all its purity, had it not been corrupted by the daring attacks of heretics. Arius, and others with him, endeavoured to destroy it, and to exalt irreligion in its stead, by saying that the Son of God was called out of nothing into being, that He is a creature, and a work, and that He is subject to change. Numbers were deceived by them, and many of those who held the most prominent place in the church were led away by their blasphemies. When our holy fathers assembled, as we have already stated, at the council of Nice, they anathematized the heresy of Arianism. They drew up in writing a confession of the faith of the Catholic Church, and by the preaching of this faith in every place all the heresies which have been framed by heretics have been overthrown. This faith was known and preached everywhere, and in every church. But some persons, desiring to renew the Arian heresy, have had the temerity to renounce the confession of faith made by our fathers at Nice, while others who appear to receive it, do in fact deny it, by giving a false interpretation to the word 'consubstantial,' and by uttering blasphemies against the Holy Ghost, saying that he was made by the Son; we therefore perceive that to prevent these blasphe-

mies from proving injurious to the people, it is necessary to place before you the Nicean confession of faith; in order that you may know with what accuracy it was written, and also how great is the errror of those who espouse other doctrines. Know then, O most religious Augustus, that this faith which was confessed by our fathers at Nice, was preached in the beginning of the gospel, and has received the assent of the churches of all places—namely, of those of Spain, Britain and Gaul, of all Italy, Campania, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mœsia, Macedonia, of all Greece, of all those of Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus and Crete, Pamphylia, Lycia, Isauria, of all Egypt and Lybia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and of neighbouring countries, and of all the Eastern churches, with the exception of a few who advocate Arian doctrines. We have learnt by experience the sentiments of all the aforesaid churches, having been engaged in correspondence with them. And we know, O most religious Augustus, that the few who oppose this faith cannot prevail against all the churches of the universe, by whom it is maintained. As these persons have been long under the injurious influence of Arianism, they resist religion with much pertinacity. In order that you may know what articles of faith were confessed at Nice by three hundred and eighteen bishops, the confession shall be here inserted. It is as follows:—

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten of the Father, who is of the substance of the Father,

God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten and not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things in heaven and on earth were made. Who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and took upon him our nature, and became man, and suffered death. He rose again the third day and ascended into heaven; and he will come again to judge the living and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. The holy catholic and apostolic church pronounces condemnation on those who say that there was a time when the Son of God existed not, that before he was begotten he was not, that he was formed out of nothing, or that he is of a different hypostasis or substance from the Father, that he is a creature, or that he is subject to change.'

"It is necessary, O beloved Augustus, to maintain this faith, for it is divine and apostolical, and no one ought to pervert it by specious arguments, or by contentious words, as has been done from the beginning by the Arians, who have pretended that the Son of God was formed out of nothing, that there was a period when he had no existence, that he is a creature and a work, and that he is subject to change. It was on this account that the council of Nice anathematized the Arian heresy, as we have stated above, and propounded an exposition of the truth. In this formulary it is not merely said that the Son is like the Father, lest it should be believed that He is only similar to God; but it is written that he is consubstantial with God, and this is an expression which can only be used with respect to the true Son, begotten of the Father. This exposition does not

speak of the Holy Ghost as separate from the Father and the Son, but renders glory to Him, and the Father, and the Son, in the faith of the one holy Trinity, and recognizes the same divine nature in three persons."

CHAPTER IV.

REVENUES RESTORED TO THE CHURCHES.

The perusal of this letter confirmed the notions respecting divine things which the emperor had formed. He enacted another law commanding the supply of corn to be granted to the churches which Constantine the Great had granted. Julian had withdrawn the grant when he took up arms against our God and Saviour. But as the famine which had taken place on account of Julian's impiety did not permit the quantity appointed by Constantine to be supplied, Jovian ordered the third part to be distributed, and promised that the rest should be restored on the cessation of the famine.

CHAPTER V.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR.

After having distinguished the commencement of his reign by the enactment of such laws, Jovian left Antioch to go towards the Bosphorus. When he had arrived at Dadastana, a village lying between Bithynia and Galatia, he died. He was well prepared for

quitting this life; but his death caused great grief to all who had experienced the mildness of his administration. I think that the Supreme Ruler of the universe exhibits blessings to our gaze, and then deprives us of them, in order to repress the evil that is in us, and to teach us how easily He can bestow whatever He thinks fit; thus proving to us that we are unworthy of blessings, and urging us on to a better course of life.

CHAPTER VI.

ACCESSION OF VALENTINIAN.—VALENS HIS BROTHER ASSOCIATED WITH HIM IN THE GOVERNMENT.

The soldiers, on hearing of the death of the emperor, deplored their loss as if he had been their father. They proclaimed Valentinian emperor, who had been banished to a fortress, a short time previously, for having struck a priest. He was not only possessed of courage, but was also prudent, temperate and just, and was besides adorned with many personal attractions. He had so much greatness of mind, that when the soldiers proposed to associate a colleague with him in the government, he made the following memorable reply. "When there was no emperor it depended upon you to place in my hands the reins of empire. But now that I have received them, it is my office and not yours to direct public affairs." The soldiers admired this answer, and acted ever after in subjection to his authority. He sent for his brother from Pannonia, and gave him a share

in the government. This was by no means a prudent measure, although his brother had not at that period imbibed corrupt doctrines. He gave him the government of Asia and of Egypt, reserving that of Europe for himself. He then went to the West and established the observance of justice, and the preaching of religion. Auxentius, bishop of Milan, who had been excommunicated by several councils, on account of having embraced the errors of Arianism, died about this time. The emperor, in consequence of this event, sent for the bishops, and addressed them in the following words, "You who have so deeply studied the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, must be well acquainted with what qualities are required in those who are raised to the office of the priesthood. You also know that it is necessary that they should instruct the people, not by precept only, but by example, and by living in the practice of every virtue, and that they should attest the truth of their doctrines by their life and conversation. Place, therefore, in the bishopric of this city a man to whose authority we who are at the head of the empire may sincerely submit, and whose reprimands we may be able to receive as salutary medicine; for we are men and are liable to fall."

CHAPTER VII.

ORDINATION OF AMBROSE TO THE CHURCH OF MILAN.

When the emperor had ceased speaking, the synod signified to him that such reliance was placed on his

wisdom and piety, that it was desired that he should himself elect a bishop to the vacant office. But he replied, "This undertaking is beyond my ability. You, who are filled with divine grace, and who have received divine light, are better able to make the election than I am." The bishops, therefore, left the palace, and held a conference together. The citizens in the meantime assembled tumultuously, and contended about the election. Those who had received the pernicious opinions of Auxentius demanded to have a bishop of the same sentiments. While those who had adhered to sound doctrines desired a pastor of the same faith as themselves. Ambrose, who was then governor of the province, hearing of the dissensions, and fearing that a sedition would ensue, hastened to the church. At his appearance all disputes ceased; and the contending parties declared with one voice that they chose Ambrose as their bishop. He had not then been baptised. The emperor, on being informed of the election of the people, ordered that the object of their choice should be immediately baptized and ordained; for he was acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his sentiments, and he regarded the unanimous consent of the opposite faction as a proof of the Divine will. After Ambrose had received the holy rite of baptism, and had been invested with the episcopal dignity, the excellent emperor, who was present during the ceremony, returned thanks to the Lord and Saviour in the following words: "I thank thee, O Lord Almighty, that Thou hast committed the charge of souls to the very man whom I had appointed to

that of the persons of my subjects, and for having thus demonstrated my choice to have been just."

A few days afterwards, as St. Ambrose was talking with much freedom to the emperor, he blamed the enormities committed by the heads of government in the discharge of their functions. "I have long observed," replied the emperor, "your fearless independence of speech, yet I did not on this account oppose your ordination; on the contrary, I consented to it. Deal with the diseases of our soul in the mode that is inculcated by the divine law." These things were said and done by the emperor at Milan.

Being informed that disputes had arisen in Asia and in Phrygia respecting religious doctrines, the emperor commanded that a council should be held in Illyria; and he afterwards sent an account of the decrees and decisions of this council to those who were then engaged in dispute. The bishops assembled in Illyria decreed that the confession of faith signed at Nice should be universally established. The emperor also wrote to exhort the disputants to acquiesce in the decree; and in this letter he conjoined his brother's name with his own. I shall introduce it here, because, while it clearly evinces the piety of Valentinian, it shows that at that period Valens held orthodox doctrines.

CHAPTER VIII.

LETTER FROM THE EMPERORS VALENTINIAN AND VALENS, ADDRESSED TO THE DIOCESES OF ASIA RESPECTING CONSUBSTANTIALITY.

"THE great and victorious emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, to the diocesan bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia, and Pacatiana. Peace be unto you in the Lord.

"The council assembled in Illyria have declared, after a prolonged and accurate examination of the subject, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are of the same substance. The members of the council do not swerve either from this doctrine, or from the public duties of their office; and they duly obey the Lord of all. We have ordered this doctrine to be preached. We would not that any person should be able to say that he followed the religion of the Monarch of the earth, without regard to the doctrines revealed for our salvation. For in the gospel of God we find the following precept, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' What do you, O bishops, who are entrusted with the words of salvation, say to this? If your faith be in accordance with that which we have propounded, then you will love one another, and will desist from abusing the authority of the emperor. Do not persecute those who serve God faithfully, who arrest by their prayers the course of war, and who repel the attacks of apostate angels.

For they drive away all evil demons by their perseverance in supplications; they bring to the public treasuries whatever sums are enjoined by law, and they do not resist the power of the government; they sincerely observe the commands of God the Supreme Ruler, while at the same time they submit to our laws. But you have shown yourselves to be opposed to our authority. We legislated for you from the first to the last, but you abandoned yourselves to evil. We desire to be innocent of your guilt; even as Pilate when he had questioned Christ, not desiring to slay him nor to give up to those who called out for him, turned towards the East, and taking water washed his hands, saying, 'I am innocent of the blood of this Just One.' So in the same way have we commanded that those who labour in the field of Christ are not to be persecuted nor oppressed, and that the stewards of the Great Ruler are not to be driven away; for we would not that your wickedness should reach a greater height during our reign, lest you should be led to trample upon the covenant of God, as was the case when the blood of Zacharias was shed. But the evil demon, and those with whom he had co-operated, were destroyed by Jesus Christ our King at the time of his coming down from above, and were given over to the punishment of death.

"The above decision was made in the presence of Megetius, Cicero, Damasus, Dailampus and Vetrasius. We send you the decrees of the council that you may know what was there enacted. We subjoin the following brief summary of the doctrines of the council.

"'We confess, according to the enactment of the great orthodox council, that the Son is of the same substance as the Father. We do not attach the same meaning to the term *con-substantial* as did those who formerly signed the formulary, nor as those persons still do who call the others their fathers; they set aside the true force of the word, and follow those who wrote that *similarity* only is signified by the term *con-substantial*, inasmuch as the Son is not similar to any of the other creatures which were made by Him, but bears resemblance to the Father alone. For those who thus explain the term, teach that the Son of God is a creature, which is great impiety, although they admit his superiority over other creatures. We believe, like the councils recently held at Rome and in Gaul, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have but one and the same substance in three persons, that is to say, in three perfect natures. We confess likewise, according to the Nicean formulary, that the Son of God is of the same substance as his Father, that he took the form of man, was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he sojourned with men. That for our salvation he was born, suffered, died, rose again, and ascended into heaven. We believe that He will come again in a visible manner at the day of judgment, to give to every one according to his deeds, and that His divine power will then be manifested; for it was not man who was invested with divinity, but it was God who assumed the form of humanity. We condemn those who hold other opinions. We also condemn those who do not sincerely anathematize him who said that, previous to being begotten, the

Son existed not, but that before he was begotten he was power in the Father. For this is true of all the creatures which have not always been with God; but the Son is ever with God, having been begotten from all eternity.' "

This was the summary of the faith drawn up by the emperor. I shall now insert that of the council.

CHAPTER IX.

EPISTLE OF THE COUNCIL CONVENED IN ILLYRIA RESPECTING THE FAITH.

" THE bishops of Illyria to the churches of God, and to the diocesan bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia, and Pacatiana. Peace be unto you.

" Having assembled together, and having searched into the words of salvation, we have been convinced that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are con-substantial. It is right that we should communicate with you by letter, not for the purpose of explaining the mystery of the Trinity by sophistical reasoning, but in order to advert to the subject with humility, in the hope of grace being accorded to us. We have sent this letter by Elpidius the presbyter, our beloved brother and fellow-labourer. The following are words not to be found in the volumes written by men, but in the book of our Saviour Jesus Christ: 'I am of Paul, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ. Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptised in the name of Paul?' We might have

omitted writing to you on account of the horror which was felt throughout all the provinces, when you proclaimed that the Holy Ghost is separate from the Father and from the Son; but we deemed it requisite to send to you from the metropolis of the Roman empire our fellow-labourer the lord Elpidius, for the purpose of delivering this letter to you, and of ascertaining whether this doctrine is really preached by you. For whoever does not preach that the three Persons of the Trinity are con-substantial, let him be anathema. And whoever holds communion with those of such sentiments, let him also be anathema. But those are the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven who preach at all times, and in every place, that the three Divine Persons are con-substantial. We exhort you then, brethren, not to hold or teach any other doctrine, but always to preach that the three Persons of the Trinity are of the same substance, in order that you may be the inheritors of the kingdom of God.

"Having written these things we proceed to speak about the election of bishops. On the death of a bishop, if any one of his family be capable of the office, the vacant appointment must be given to him; but otherwise one of the presbytery must be elected to fill it. In the same way the offices of presbyter and of deacon must be conferred only on the clergy, in order that they may be irreproachable. Such appointments must not be given to those who belong to the court or to the army. We have not written to you at greater length because we have sent our colleague, the lord Elpidius, who will ascertain what doctrine is preached by you, and whether it be that

which was intimated to us by Eustathius our lord and fellow-minister. If you were then deceived, throw off now the old man, and put on the new. Elpidius, our brother and fellow-minister, will teach you how to declare the true faith, which is, that the holy and con-substantial God the Father, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is sanctified, glorified, and manifested; the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, with the Holy Ghost, unto all ages. When this doctrine has been made evident to you, we shall all agree in confessing that the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are con-substantial, according to the ancient formulary of the faith drawn up at Nice, and established by the fathers. By preaching this doctrine we shall escape the snares of the evil demon. When we have overcome him, we will keep up a friendly intercourse with you by letter, and we will live in peace. We subjoin for your information the names of those who have been deposed on account of Arianism, for they would not confess the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be con-substantial. Their names are as follows: Polychronicus, Telemachus, Faustus, Asclepiades, Amantius, and Cleopater.

"May all things be to the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, Amen. We pray to the Father, and to the Son our Saviour Christ, with the Holy Ghost, that you may enjoy prosperity and health for many years to come."

CHAPTER X.

HERESY OF THE AUDIANS.

THUS did this emperor, who was so worthy of the highest praise, endeavour to preserve the purity of the apostolical doctrines. About the same period, Audius, a native of Syria, promulgated some new doctrines. He had devised these depraved doctrines some time previously, but now, for the first time, he made them public. Having never rightly understood these words, "Let us make man in our own image and in our likeness," he took it for granted that God had a human form and a body consisting of parts. In the holy Scriptures the names of various parts of the human body are often given to the Divine modes of acting; but this is in order to meet the feebleness of men's minds, and to render the providential care of God more intelligible. To this impiety he added other errors. He adopted some of the foolish opinions of Manes, affirming that God, the Creator of the universe, made neither fire nor darkness. But the members of this and of similar sects keep their opinions concealed. They allege as a reason for having separated from our ecclesiastical assemblies that some among us demand the most hateful usury, and that others carry on an illicit intercourse with unmarried women; while those, they say, who are free from these particular vices, admit all who practise them to communion. Such are the reasons which they advance to account for their schism, and to

conceal the blasphemy of their doctrines. But this pretext is full of pride, and is derived from the doctrine of the Pharisees. These latter accused Him who was the Physician of the soul and of the body, and said to the holy apostles, "Why doth your Master eat with publicans and sinners" (Matt. ix). Of such men God thus spoke by the mouth of the prophet: "Those who say, Come not near to me, I am holier than thou, these are the smoke of my fury" (Isa. lxv). But this is not the time to dwell upon their folly. I must proceed to the relation of the remainder of the narrative.

CHAPTER XI.

HERESY OF THE MESSALIANS.

About the same time the heresy of the Messalians sprang up. Those who have rendered their name into Greek call them Euchites. Besides the above, they bear other appellations. They are sometimes called Enthusiasts, because they regard the agitating influences of a demon by whom they are possessed as indications of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Those who have thoroughly imbibed this heresy shun all manual labour as a vice; they abandon themselves to sleep, and declare their dreams to be prophecies. The following were the leaders of this sect; Dadoes, Sabbas, Adelphius, Hermes, Symeon, and many others. They never seceded from communion with the church, because they believed that the holy food there provided was innoxious although useless. Whereas Christ the

Lord, in allusion to this food, says, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood shall live for ever." Their great desire of concealing their error leads them shamelessly to deny it, even when convicted of it, and induces them to condemn in others the very sentiments which they hold themselves. Letoius, bishop of the church of Melitene, on finding that these errors were entertained in numerous monasteries, which were, in reality, so many caverns of robbers, set fire to them all in the plenitude of his zeal, and chased the wolves far away from the sheepfold. The celebrated Amphilochus was the bishop of the metropolis of Lycaonia, and therefore ruled over the whole province: on being apprised of the extension of this heresy, he preserved, by his vigilance, the flock committed to his care free from the contagion. The renowned Flavian, who was afterwards bishop of Antioch, hearing that these sectarians were at Edessa, and that they disseminated their corrupt opinions throughout the neighbourhood, sent a body of monks to bring them to Antioch. They there denied the fact of their being infected with these doctrines, and declared that their accusers calumniated them, and bore false witness against them. Flavian requested Adelphius, who was an old man, to come to him; and, after desiring him in a kindly manner to sit down beside him, said to him, "We, O old man, who have lived a long time, must be better acquainted with human nature and with the inimical machinations of demons, and must also have learnt more respecting the supply of divine grace, than the other persons of the assembly, who, being young, and not having yet acquired accu-

rate information, are not capable of understanding spiritual discourses. Tell me, then, what you mean by saying, that the hostile spirit departs when the Holy Spirit comes with grace?" The old man being gained over by these words, disclosed the hidden poison of this heresy: he said, that the holy rite of baptism was of no benefit to those who received it, and that perseverance in prayer alone could expel the demon which dwells within us; "because," said he, "every one who is born is, by nature, as much the slave of the demons as he is the descendant of the first man. When the demons are driven away by the fervency of prayer, the most Holy Spirit visits us, and gives sensible and visible signs of his own presence, by freeing the body from the perturbation of passion, and the soul from evil propensities; so that, henceforth, there is no more need of fasting for the subjugation of the body, nor of instruction for the restraint and direction of the soul. Whoever has enjoyed this visitation is delivered from all inward struggles; he clearly foresees the future, and gazes with his own eyes upon the Holy Trinity." Flavian, having thus discovered the fetid fountain-head of error, and having detected the evil streams which issued from it, said to this wretched old man, "You, who have grown old in sin, have convicted yourself by your own mouth, without any interposition on my part. Your own lips have borne witness against you." The unsound principles of these sectarians having been thus detected, they were expelled from Syria. They went to Pamphylia, and propagated their injurious heresy throughout the province.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MODE IN WHICH VALENS WAS SEDUCED INTO HERESY.

I SHALL now proceed to relate the rest of the history; and shall describe the commencement of that tempest which excited so many evils in the church. Valens held the doctrines of the apostles when he was first put in possession of the imperial power. The Goths having passed the Danube and invaded Thrace, he raised an army, intending to march against them. But he reflected, that he ought not to rush into danger destitute of the protection of Divine grace, but that he ought first to obtain the complete armour of God, by means of the holy rite of baptism. This was a wise and prudent reflection. But his subsequent conduct evinced the weakness of his mind, and the ease with which he could be led away from the truth. A misfortune happened to him, similar to that which befell Adam, the first man. His wife enslaved him by her arguments, and he was captured; not by the spears of the enemy, but by the deceitful words of a woman. Having been herself ensnared into the errors of Arianism, she entrapped her husband likewise, and they both fell into the deep pit of blasphemy. This catastrophe was mainly attributable to the influence of Eudoxius, who, at this period, was at the head of the church of Constantinople, and who was more capable of submerging it than of guiding it aright.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXILE OF SOME BISHOPS OF EXTRAORDINARY VIRTUE.

Eudoxius then baptised the emperor, and made him swear that he would adhere to these impious doctrines, and that he would banish all those who held contrary opinions. Thus did Valens abandon the apostolical faith, and join the hostile party. A very short time subsequently, he fulfilled his promises and vows; for he expelled Melitius from Antioch, Eusebius from Samosata, and Pelagius from Laodicea. This latter had been betrothed when very young; but, on his marriage day, he persuaded his bride to choose a life of chastity, and to accept fraternal affection instead of connubial love. Thus did he attain to perfect continence. He also successfully cultivated within himself all the other virtues; and on this account he was unanimously elected to the bishopric. But the moral beauty of his life and conversation was not heeded by the opponent of truth, who banished him to Arabia. Melitius was also exiled to Armenia, and Eusebius to Thrace. The latter had laboured in the cause of the gospel with apostolic zeal. On one occasion, hearing that several churches were destitute of pastors, he assumed the garb of a soldier, placed a tiara on his head, and traversed Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, ordaining priests and deacons, and filling other vacant ecclesiastical offices; and where he found bishops holding sentiments congenial with his own, he

appointed them to the government of the deserted churches.

CHAPTER XIV.

ACCOUNT OF EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA.*

I CONSIDER it requisite to inform those who may be unacquainted with the facts, of the courage and wisdom displayed by Eusebius, when he received the imperial mandate enjoining his banishment to Thrace. The officer who brought the mandate arrived in the evening. Eusebius desired him to be quiet, and to conceal the cause of his journey; "For if the multitude," said he, "who are all imbued with divine zeal, should learn your design, they will drown you, and I shall have to answer for your death." After having, according to custom, celebrated the evening service, the old man departed on foot during the night, accompanied by one of his domestics, who carried his pillow and a book. When he arrived at the banks of the Euphrates, which washes the walls of the city, he leaped into a ferry boat, and desired the rowers to convey him to Zeugma, which he reached at the break of day. In the mean time, the city of Samosata was filled with the sounds of weeping and lamentation; for the servant of Eusebius had mentioned the mandate which his master had received, and had asked some of the people to bring certain books which were then required. All the citizens deplored the loss of their pastor; and some of them rowed across

* Samosata is a city of Commagene, in Syria, on the Euphrates.

the ford in quest of him. When they reached Zeugma, and saw him, they besought him with tears and lamentations to remain with them, and not to leave his flock exposed to the attacks of wolves. But when he read to them the precepts laid down by the apostle, enjoining obedience to princes and magistrates, they saw it would be impossible to overrule his resolution; and, accordingly, some of them presented him with gold, and others offered garments and servants. He accepted a few gifts from some of his intimate friends; and after praying for them all, and exhorting them to defend with stedfastness the doctrines of the apostles, he set out for the Danube. The citizens returned to their homes, and exhorted each other to resist the attacks of the wolves.

CHAPTER XV.

PIOUS ZEAL OF THE INHABITANTS OF SAMOSATA.

I SHALL relate some instances of the fervency and purity of the zeal of these citizens; for I believe that it would be unjust not to perpetuate, by means of my writings, the remembrance of such actions. The Arians having, as I have already mentioned, deprived this exemplary flock of their shepherd, elected in his place an individual with whom none of the inhabitants of the city, whether poor or rich, servants or mechanics, husbandmen or gardeners, men or women, young or old, could hold communion. He was left quite alone; no one ever calling to see him, or exchanging a word with him. It is, however, said, that his

disposition was extremely gentle; and this is proved by what I am about to relate. One day, when he went to bathe in the public baths, the attendants closed the doors, to prevent all those who might be inclined to come in from entering. Perceiving some of the people standing without, he ordered the doors to be thrown open, that they might be admitted to bathe with himself. Some of them accordingly entered; and he, perceiving that they remained in a standing posture before him while he was bathing, advised them to take a hot bath likewise. But still they stood silent before him. Imagining that great deference towards himself was the cause of this conduct, he arose, and left the bath. These people believed that the water had been contaminated by his heresy, and ordered it to be let out and fresh water supplied. When he heard of this circumstance, he left the city; thinking that he ought no longer to remain in a place where he was the object of public aversion and hatred. Upon the retirement of Eunomius from the town of Samosata, Lucius, who was truly a wolf and a deceiver of the flock, was elected as his successor by the Arians. But the flock, although destitute of a pastor, fulfilled the functions of a pastor for itself, and preserved inviolate the apostolic doctrines. I shall now relate an incident, to show the universal abhorrence with which Lucius was regarded. Some young people were amusing themselves with playing at ball in the market-place. Lucius was passing by at the time, and the ball happened to fall beneath the feet of the ass on which he was mounted. The youths uttered loud excla-

mations, believing that the ball was contaminated. Lucius heard the cry, and desired one of his followers to remain behind to watch their proceedings. The youths lighted a fire, and hurled the ball through it, believing that by this process the ball would be purified. Although this was only a childish deed, and although it exhibits the remains of ancient superstition, yet it is sufficient to show the odium which the Arian faction had incurred in this city. Lucius was far from imitating the mildness of Eunomius, and he persuaded the heads of government to exile most of the clergy. Those who had defended the divine doctrines with the greatest constancy were banished to the furthest extremities of the Roman empire. Evolcius, a deacon, was sent to Oasis, a little town which is almost a desert. Antiochus, a priest, who had the honour of being the nephew, on his father's side, of the great Eusebius, and who had also rendered himself conspicuous by his own illustrious qualities, was banished to a region of Armenia. His firmness in maintaining the divine doctrines will be hereafter mentioned. After the divine Eusebius, who had obtained as many victories as he had engaged in conflicts, had closed his life by martyrdom, the bishops of the province assembled according to custom. Jovian, who was then bishop of Pergamus, and who had for some time previously admitted Arians to communion, repaired to this assembly. Antiochus was unanimously appointed to the vacant bishopric; he was led to the altar, and was there made to kneel down; but when he turned round and perceived that Jovian was about to place

his hand upon his head, he pushed it away, saying, that he could not receive ordination from hands which had joined with blasphemers in the celebration of the ordinances.* But these incidents did not occur till long after the period to which we are now referring. Antiochus was banished to the interior of Armenia. St. Eusebius remained in exile near the Danube, while the Goths were ravaging Thrace, and were besieging many cities, as is related in his own works.

CHAPTER XVI.

BANISHMENT OF THE HOLY BARSES, BISHOP OF EDESSA.—SOME OF THE CLERGY EXILED WITH HIM.

THE celebrated Barses ruled not only Edessa and the adjacent cities, but also Phœnicia, Egypt, and Thebes, and the fame of his virtues extended throughout all these provinces. Valens banished him first to the Isle of Aradus; but when it was found that multitudes resorted to him, for he was filled with apostolical gifts and was able to remove diseases by a word, the emperor sent him to Oxyrynchus, a city of Egypt. But as his fame still attracted attention, he was banished to a greater distance; and this old man, who was worthy of heaven, was conveyed to a fortress called Philæ, situated on the frontier of the barbarian nations. It is said that his bed is preserved in Aradus even to this day, and that it is still held in the greatest honour. Many sick persons, on being made to lie down upon it, have, by means of their faith, been healed.

* Μυστήρια.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERSECUTION EXCITED AT EDESSA.

Valens having deprived the flock of their pastor elected a wolf to fill his office. But as all the inhabitants left the city to hold their assemblies elsewhere, he also quitted Edessa. He commanded Modestus, who was then a prefect, to assemble the soldiers who usually levied the taxes, and also the armed men who were in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of dispersing the multitudes; and this he desired him to effect by beating them with sticks, or, if necessary, by attacking them with warlike weapons. The prefect prepared from the break of day to carry this command into execution. As he was passing the market-place he saw a woman hastening along with an infant in her arms. She had broken through the ranks of the officers, whom she utterly contemned. For when the soul is warmed by divine zeal, it knows not the fear of man, and laughs at human power. The prefect on seeing her, went up to her and asked her where she was going. "I have heard," replied she, "of the evil designs which have been formed against the holy servants of God, and I am going to join those who are one with me in faith, that with them I may suffer the cruel persecution which you are about to raise against them." "But why do you take the infant?" asked the prefect. "In order," replied she, "that it may die with me in this blessed cause!" The prefect, on hearing these sentiments expressed by the woman, and on reflecting

that the resoluteness of the others might be inferred from the courage evinced by her, went to the emperor and told him that the slaughter which he contemplated would be fruitless. "Ignominy alone," said he, "could result to us from such an act, while the zeal of the people would not be extinguished." By these words the prefect warded off the blow which was about to have been inflicted on the people. But as to the presbyters and deacons, he was directed either to persuade them to enter into communion with the wolf, or else to drive them from the city, and send them to the most distant regions. After having accordingly assembled them, he addressed them in the kindest manner, endeavouring to persuade them to obey the injunction of the emperor; and he told them that it was madness for a handful of men to oppose the will of an emperor possessed of such unbounded power.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EXILE OF EULOGIUS AND PROTOGENES, PRESBYTERS OF EDESSA.

As they all remained silent, the prefect addressed Eulogius, an exemplary man, who was the principal person present. "Why," said he, "do you not reply to what we have been saying?" "Because," said he, "as no question was addressed to me I could not reply!" "But," rejoined the prefect, "I have been speaking to you for some time, exhorting you to do that which is to your own interest!" "I imagined,"

replied Eulogius, "that your discourse was addressed to all present, and that it would therefore be absurd for me to reply to the exclusion of the rest. But if you wish to interrogate me singly, I am ready to declare my sentiments!" "Hold communion, then," said the prefect, "with the emperor!" Eulogius replied by asking in an ironical, yet very graceful, manner, "Has then the sacerdotal as well as the imperial dignity devolved upon him?" The prefect was offended at this observation: he reviled the presbyter and said to him, "I did not say that, you stupified being; I merely exhorted you to enter into communion with those with whom the emperor is in communion." The presbyter replied that they had a pastor whose authority they obeyed. The prefect seized eighty of them and sent them to Thrace. During their journey they received the greatest honours. The inhabitants of the cities and villages through which they passed applauded the victory which they had gained. But their enemies were led by envy to represent to the emperor that the banishment of these men, instead of being, as was intended, a disgrace to them, had raised them to the highest honour. On hearing this, Valens ordered them to be separated, and to be dispersed two and two throughout Thrace, and the furthest parts of Arabia and Thebes. It is said that those who were united by the bonds of nature, were separated by the cruelty of the persecutors, and that brothers were torn from each other. Eulogius who was the most distinguished among them, and Protogenes who ranked next to him in importance, were sent to Antinous, a town of

Thebes. I do not wish to consign their virtues to oblivion. They found that the bishop was of the same sentiments as themselves, and they accordingly took part in the ecclesiastical assemblies; but perceiving that there were but very few that came together on these occasions, they, upon enquiring the cause, were informed that the greater part of the inhabitants were involved in Paganism. They grieved at this sad intelligence, and deplored their unbelief. But they did not think it sufficient to regret the evil; they endeavoured to find a remedy for it. The holy Eulogius shut himself up in a cell, and devoted himself day and night to supplicating the God of all. The admirable Protogenes, who possessed great erudition, and who had been accustomed to write with rapidity, applied himself to the education of youth, and gave instructions in writing and in the holy Scriptures. He dictated the Psalms of David to his scholars, and made them learn the most useful parts of the apostolical writings. One of the young men was attacked by a disease: Protogenes went to see him, and, on touching the right hand of the sufferer, the disease, in answer to his prayer, was removed. On hearing of this deed, other fathers besought him to heal their children, who were lying ill in their respective houses. But he declared that he could not supplicate God to remove the disease, until the diseased persons had been admitted to the rite of baptism. The desire they felt for recovery made them readily acquiesce in this condition; and health was therefore restored to the soul and to the body at the same time. When Protogenes had succeeded in

persuading a person in good health to accept the offer of divine grace, he conducted him to Eulogius. He knocked at the door of Eulogius, requesting him to open it, and to place the seal of the Lord upon him who had been converted; stating that if he were to complain of interruption to his prayers, he would answer that the salvation of the deceived was of still greater importance. Every one admired Protogenes for having honoured Eulogius as his superior, and for having led his converts to him, while he was himself gifted with the power of working miracles, and with the light of divine knowledge. Hence, as might have been expected, his virtue acquired still greater renown. When the tempest was stilled, and tranquillity was restored, these two holy men received orders to return to their own country. All the people of the town lamented and wept as they conducted them forth on their journey. The regret of the ruler of that church was extreme in finding himself deprived of their assistance. Some time after their return from exile, Barses was translated to that life where there is no sorrow; and the reins of the church which he had governed were committed to the holy Eulogius. The admirable Protogenes was appointed to labour in Carras, which is a barren spot filled with the thorns of Grecian superstition, and requiring intense labour. This, however, as I have already mentioned, did not occur till after peace had been restored to the church.

CHAPTER XIX.

ST. BASIL, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA.—THE PERSECUTIONS RAISED AGAINST HIM BY VALENS AND THE PREFECT MODESTUS.

Valens, after having, so to speak, stripped the church of its pastors, went to Cæsarea, a city of Cappadocia. The church of this city was then ruled by the great Basil, who was one of the lights of the world. The emperor sent the prefect on before him, commanding him either to persuade Basil to enter into communion with Eudoxius, or else to expel him from the city. The fame of this bishop had reached his ears, and had rendered him fearful of being the first to molest him, lest he should receive and repel the attack in a mode that would serve as an example of fortitude to others. But this artful stratagem was as ineffective as a spider's web; for the other bishops had many records of those whose illustrious examples might be said to serve as bulwarks in repelling the attacks made against the faith. When the prefect arrived at Cæsarea he sent for Basil, treated him with respect, and addressed him in a kind manner, exhorting him to submit to the exigencies of the times, and not to relinquish the government which he held over so many churches for the sake of a few doctrines. He promised him the friendship of the emperor, and protested that all the favours that he might solicit for others should be accorded. "Such protestations," replied the holy man, "might, perhaps,

be suitably addressed to young people, or to those who resemble them in mind and disposition. But those who have been nourished by the words of God are ready to suffer death, if requisite, rather than relinquish one iota of the divine doctrines. I highly esteem the friendship of the emperor when conjoined with piety; but without piety I consider that it would be injurious." The prefect resented this reply, and told him that he was out of his mind. "I wish," replied the holy Basil, "that I could always be thus out of my mind." At length the prefect desired him with many threats to retire and to reflect upon the course he meant to pursue, and to acquaint him the next day with his final determination. Then this man, so worthy of all praise, replied, "I shall be to-morrow the same as I am to-day; do not you either change your mind, but execute your threats." After this interview, the prefect went to the emperor, related what had passed, and represented the virtue and fidelity of the bishop. The emperor listened in silence, and then went into the city. But when he found within his own house the inflictions of divine judgment, his son being sick and nigh unto death, and his wife beset with severe sufferings, he reflected on the cause of these calamities, and sent to the holy man against whom he had threatened vengeance, entreating him to come to the palace. The chief military commanders of the empire were despatched to the bishop with this message. The great Basil, accordingly, went to the palace, and perceiving that the emperor's son was at the point of death, promised to restore him to health as soon as the holy rite of

baptism was administered to him by the orthodox functionaries of the church. After making this declaration he withdrew. The emperor, however, like Herod in similar circumstances, remembered an oath which he had formerly made, and ordered the bishops of the Arian faction to baptise the child. At the completion of the ceremony the child expired. Valens was touched with remorse, and reflecting on the catastrophe which had resulted from the fulfilment of his oath, he went into the holy church, listened to the teaching of the great Basil, and offered the usual gifts at the altar. Then Basil, who was sitting within the holy veil, motioned to him to come in, and discoursed with him at great length concerning the divine doctrines. A certain man was present, named Demosthenes, who held the situation of cook at the palace: he began to blame the teacher of the world, and in so doing he happened to commit a grammatical error. The holy Basil replied, smiling, "We have heard Demosthenes transgress a rule of grammar." Demosthenes was excessively offended, and burst out into threats of vengeance. The great Basil rejoined, "It is your office to attend to the seasoning of soups; you cannot receive the doctrines of God because the ears of your understanding are closed."

The emperor so highly admired the character of the bishop, that for his sake he presented the most beautiful lands in the neighbourhood to those among the poor whose whole bodies were affected with disease, as being those who stood most in need of assistance. In this way did Basil avert the first blow

which Valens designed for the church. But at a subsequent period, Valens re-visited Cæsarea, and having forgotten what had previously passed between him and Basil, endeavoured to draw him into communion with the opposite faction; and not succeeding in persuading him, he ordered an edict to be issued for his banishment. When he endeavoured to affix his own signature to the document, he could not form a single letter, for his pen split. The same thing happened the second and the third time that he vainly made the attempt; his right hand also was seized with a sudden tremor, rendering him quite unable to sign the impious edict. He was struck with terror, and with both hands tore the document. The Ruler of the universe delivered Basil from the designs of his enemies, while others were permitted to struggle with affliction, in order that in what befel Basil his own power might be manifested; while, in the trials which were encountered by the other excellent men, their own virtue might be exhibited to all the world. Thus, then, were the efforts and hopes of Valens frustrated.

CHAPTER XX.

DEATH OF ST. ATHANASIUS, AND ORDINATION OF PETER.

The victorious Athanasius, who had acquired as many crowns of victory as he had engaged in conflicts, had been released from labour, and translated to a life exempt from trouble. Peter, a man of great eminence, was elected to succeed him in the bishopric

of Alexandria. Athanasius had desired that he should be his successor; and this choice was ratified by the unanimous consent both of the clergy, and of the chief men of the city. All the people manifested their gratification at his promotion by loud acclamations. He had shared in the labours and perils of Athanasius, and had been his constant companion at home and abroad. On this account, all the bishops and monks who resided in the vicinity repaired to the city, to request that he might be appointed to fill the post of Athanasius.

CHAPTER XXI.

EXPULSION OF PETER.—INSTALMENT OF LUCIUS, AN ARIAN.

IMMEDIATELY after Peter had been raised to the archiepiscopal dignity, the governor of the province collected a multitude of Pagans and Jews, and surrounded the church, desiring Peter to retire; and on his refusal, he threatened to expel him. He acted in the same way against all whose opinions were opposed to those of the emperor, under the pretence, indeed, of complying with his wishes, but, in truth, to satisfy his own impious prejudices, for he was addicted to the worship of idols; and the storms which agitated the church were to him a source of festivity and rejoicing. When this unexpected war broke out, Peter quitted the city secretly, and embarking on board a vessel, proceeded to Rome. A few days after, Euzoius arrived at Alexandria from Antioch,

bringing Lucius with him, whom he installed in the government of the churches. Lucius had given many proofs of his impiety and injustice at Samosata. When the multitudes who had been nourished by the teaching of Athanasius, perceived that other food was presented to them, they kept away from the assemblies of the church. Lucius assembled round him a troop of idolaters, who acted as his guards. He had some of the orthodox beaten, others he threw into prison, some he compelled to flee, and he pillaged the houses of others. All these occurrences are best explained by the admirable Peter, in one of his letters. But before I insert this letter in my work, I must relate one atrocious deed committed by Lucius.

There are in Egypt men who, desirous of leading a life like that of angels, have sequestered themselves from the tumult of cities to dwell in deserts, and who among these barren sands produce by their extraordinary virtues fruit pleasing unto God. Anthony was one of the most celebrated of those who originated this mode of living in the desert; but after he had safely anchored in the haven of rest, his followers were most cruelly persecuted. The celebrated Macarius who was one of the leaders of this party, another individual of the same name, Isidore, and others, were torn away from their caverns, and were sent to an island where the inhabitants were heathens, and had never received any instruction in religion. As soon as their vessel approached the shores of the island, the demon who was there worshipped quitted the statue of the idol which had long been his abode,

and entered into the body of the priest's daughter. He threw her into a state of madness and agitation, dragged her towards that part of the shore which the vessel was approaching, and compelled her to utter expressions similar to those used by the damsel who was filled with the spirit of Python at Philippi. While all the people, both men and women, were listening to these exclamations, the demon said through her, "O servants of Christ, how great is your power! We have been driven by you from every place, from cities and from villages, from mountains, from hills, and from the solitudes of the desert. We did hope that, in this neglected island, we should have been safe from your weapons; but our hope was vain. Your persecutors have sent you hither, not for the purpose of injuring or of molesting you, but in order that we may be driven away by you. We shall now depart from the island. We are unable to endure the brightness of your virtue." After having thus spoken, the demons flung the damsel on the ground, and fled. The holy men, after having engaged in prayer, raised the damsel from the ground, and restored her to health of body and of mind. Those who witnessed the miracle threw themselves at the feet of these holy men, and entreated them to show them the way of salvation. They destroyed the temple of their idols, and received the doctrines of religion and the rite of baptism. When these events became known in Alexandria, all the people assembled, and rose against Lucius, declaring that judgments would be sent to manifest the wrath of God, if the persecutions against the saints were

continued. Lucius, intimidated by these tumults, granted permission to the inspired men to return to their caverns. These facts are quite sufficient to show his wickedness and impiety. The letter of Peter, however, exposes his violence and injustice yet more clearly. I shall here insert this letter; but, to avoid prolixity, shall commence at the middle paragraph.

CHAPTER XXII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, CONTAINING A RELATION OF THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY LUCIUS IN ALEXANDRIA.

"PALLADIUS, governor of the province, who was a heathen and an idolater, and who had frequently taken up arms against the cause of Christ, having assembled the multitude, as already mentioned, marched against the church with the same impetuosity as if he were attempting the subjugation of hordes of barbarians. The most atrocious crimes were then perpetrated; but when I try to allude to them, the very remembrance overcomes me, and draws tears from my eyes. These feelings of despondency would have become permanent, had not my grief been assuaged by the words of God. The people entered the church of Theonas, singing the praises of the idols, instead of reciting words suitable to the place. Instead of reading the holy Scriptures, they clapped their hands, shouting obscene words, and uttering insults against the Christian virgins which my tongue refuses to

repeat. Every man of correct feeling, on hearing these expressions, endeavoured to shut his ears, and wished to have been deaf rather than to have heard such obscenity. Would that they had confined themselves to words without carrying out into action the lewdness of their expressions. But the most insulting taunts are easily borne by those who have received the wisdom and doctrines of Christ. These people, who were vessels of wrath reserved for perdition, made loud and impudent noises through the nose which might be compared to the gushing forth of a torrent; and, at the same time, tore the garments of the virgins of Christ, whose purity rendered them like the angels. They dragged them in a complete state of nudity about the city, and treated them in the most wanton and insulting manner, and with unheard-of cruelty. When any one, touched with compassion, addressed a few words of remonstrance to them, they immediately attacked and wounded him. But what is still more painful to relate, many virgins were ravished, others were struck on the head with clubs, and expired beneath the blows; and their bodies were not permitted to be interred. Many of the corpses even to this day cannot, to the grief of the parents, be found. But why should comparatively small incidents be placed by the side of far greater atrocities? Why should I dwell upon such facts, and not proceed to the relation of what is still more important, and which will strike you with astonishment and amazement at the clemency of God that he did not destroy the whole universe. The impious people did that upon the altar which, as the Scripture says, was not

done nor heard of in the days of our fathers. A young man who had abjured his own sex, and had assumed the dress of a female, danced upon the holy altar where we invoke the Holy Ghost, as though it had been a public theatre, making various gestures and grimaces to the diversion of the others, who laughed immoderately, and uttered many impious exclamations. In addition to disorders which they had already committed, as if they thought that what they had done was rather commendable than the contrary, one of their number, noted for his wickedness, stripped himself at once of his clothes, and of every remnant of modesty, and seated himself, as naked as when he was born, in the episcopal chair belonging to the church. All the others saluted him as an orator about to commence a discourse against Christ. He represented iniquity as superior to scriptural doctrines, placed licentiousness above decorum, impiety above piety; and, instead of inculcating temperance, taught that fornication, adultery, sodomitism, theft, gluttony, and drunkenness, are the most profitable pursuits in life. When these acts of impiety had been perpetrated, I left the church; for how could I have remained there while the soldiery were attacking it, while the people who had been bribed for the purpose were committing disorders, and while the idolaters had, by means of great promises, been assembled together in crowds? Our successor, who had purchased the episcopal office with gold, as though it had been a secular dignity, was a wolf in disposition, and acted accordingly. He had not been elected by a synod of bishops, by the votes of the

clergy, or by the request of the people, according to the regulations of the church. He did not go into the city alone; but he was not accompanied by bishops, presbyters, or deacons, nor yet by the people. Neither did monks walk before him singing hymns selected from the Scriptures; but he was attended by Euzoius, who was once a deacon of the city of Alexandria, who was deposed with Arius at the holy and general council of Nice, and who is now reducing the city of Antioch to ruin. He was also accompanied by Magnus, the royal treasurer, who headed an immense body of soldiery. This Magnus was noted for his readiness in every work of impiety; he had, during the reign of Julian, burnt a church in Berytus, a celebrated city of Phœnicia, and was, in the reign of Jovian, of blessed memory, sentenced to re-erect it at his own expence; and would even have been put to death had not great exertions been made to incline the emperor to clemency.

"Having now been made acquainted with the tyranny and cruelty exercised by the enemy against us, you can judge of the magnitude of the transgressions committed against the church of God; and you ought not to rest till such iniquities have received the award of justice. The same Lucius, who had been so often condemned by you and by all the orthodox bishops, came to this city, where he was, and with good reason, regarded with great aversion. He not only said, with the blasphemer in the Psalms, 'Christ is not truly God,' he also delighted in all the blasphemies devised against Christ by those who served the creature rather than the Creator; and,

being utterly depraved himself, he endeavoured to corrupt others. I say nothing that is not strictly correct; for this evil man held sentiments nearly allied to those of the heathens. On seeing him, all the people burst out into loud acclamations, saying, 'Welcome, O bishop, welcome to you, who deny the Son! Serapis, who loves you, has brought you here!' Serapis was the name which they had given to their idol. At the same moment, Magnus, the accomplice in his impious deeds, and the minister of his cruelty, having called together the troops which he commanded, seized nineteen presbyters and deacons, some of whom were more than eighty years of age; and, as if they had been detected in the commission of some hateful and unlawful action, he ordered them to be brought before him. He urged them to renounce the faith which our fathers had received from the apostles, and which they have handed down to us; assuring them that such an act would be regarded with approbation by Valens, the most clement of emperors. 'Assent, O wretched men,' exclaimed he, in a loud tone of voice, 'assent to the Arian doctrines. Even if your religion be true, God will forgive you for having renounced it, for you are not now acting voluntarily, but by compulsion. What is done from constraint is excusable; voluntary actions alone carry with them their own condemnation. Therefore, reflect upon the reasons which I have brought before you, and sign, without delay, the doctrine of Arius, which is now preached by Lucius. You may be certain that, if you accede to this injunction, you will receive riches, gifts, and honours,

from the emperors. But if you refuse obedience, you will be imprisoned, tortured, and scourged; you will be deprived of all your wealth and possessions, driven from your country, and banished to a sterile and inhospitable region.' In this manner, coupling threats with promises, did he endeavour to induce them to renounce their principles. But these pious men, dreading the loss of faith far more than exposure to the greatest tortures, made the following reply: 'Cease, cease! do not think to terrify us by words. Your threats are vain; it is not a new thing to us to serve God. It is in vain that you roar like the billows of the sea, and that you rage like a furious wind. We will adhere to the doctrines of religion, even unto death. We will not believe that God was ever without power, without wisdom, or without truth. We will never believe that he was a Father at one period, and not at another, as does that impious Arian, who declares that God has a finite Son. If the Son were, as the Arians say, a creature, and if he were not of the same substance as the Father, the Father would be reduced to nothing; since, according to them, if the Son existed not, the Father could not either have existed. If the Father is from all eternity, and if the Son was begotten of him, though not by effluxion, God not being susceptible of change, is it not foolish and extravagant to believe that there was a time in which the Son existed not, although by Him all things exist? It was for this reason that our fathers, who were assembled at Nice from all parts of the globe, condemned the evil opinions of the Arians, which the young man now maintains:

they declared that the Son is not of a substance diverse from that of the Father, as you would constrain us to believe, but they confessed his consubstantiality. They derived, from many words of Scripture, the term *consubstantial*, which they rightly understood in accordance with religion.' After they had spoken for some time in this strain, Magnus ordered them to be cast into prison for many days, in the expectation that a change would be thus induced in their opinions. But they, like brave combatants of the stadium, threw aside all fear, and, encouraged by the achievements of their fathers, they, through divine grace, looked with contempt upon the menaces of the tyrant, and welcomed tortures as being the trial of their virtue. All the inhabitants of the city ran out to see these soldiers of Christ, who were made, as the blessed Paul wrote, a spectacle for angels and for men; and who triumphed over tortures and scourging by their fortitude, erected trophies of victory over impiety by their patience, and obtained a complete triumph over the Arians. Their evil and bitter enemy strove, both by threats and by deceitful promises, to force them to range themselves under the banners of the impious faction opposed to Christ. After inflicting, to the grief and horror of the people, all the tortures that his resentment could devise, this cruel man, who was destitute of every feeling of humanity, became at length wearied of cruelty. He then called together the most disorderly persons of the city, and summoned the accused to judgment, or rather to condemnation. The banks of the river resounded with the shouts

of the idolaters and of the Jews, who had been bribed to cry out against the holy men. When it became evident that they could not be made to embrace the Arian heresy, sentence was passed upon them, and all the people who were in the court of justice burst out into lamentations. They were banished from Alexandria to Heliopolis, a city of Phœnicia, where all the inhabitants were idolaters, and where no one could endure to hear the name of Christ. After having sent for a vessel, Magnus stood upon the shore, with a naked sword in his hand, near the public bath in which he had pronounced sentence against them. He foolishly imagined that the naked sword would terrify those who had so often, with a two-edged sword, wounded the hostile demons. He then ordered them to embark on board the vessel; but did not give them any necessaries for the voyage, nor any thing to solace them in their exile; and, what is still more extraordinary, and indeed almost incredible, he ordered them to sail immediately, although a storm was then raging, and the sea was violently agitated, as though it were indignant at his injustice, and unwilling to contribute to the execution of his sentence; thus exhibiting, to those who had not previously reflected on the subject, the barbarity of the judge. It may be said with truth, that heaven was amazed at this deed. The whole city wept over this sad occurrence, which is deplored even to this day. Some of the citizens struck their breasts with violence, others raised their hands and their eyes towards heaven, as if to implore assistance, and as if to say, ‘ Hear, O heavens, and

give ear, O earth, to the deeds of injustice that have been perpetrated!' Groans were heard in every place, and the whole city was full of the sounds of woe. The tears which were shed might have formed a stream almost large enough to have caused an inundation of the sea. When the tyrant, as before related, stood upon the shore and gave orders for sailing, a universal cry was raised by young maidens and by women, by old men and by youths; tears were mixed with the lamentations, and their simultaneous screams drowned the noise of the tempest and of the raging billows. But while the holy men were sailing towards Heliopolis,—the city where all the demons are worshipped, and where voluptuous principles are predominant—the city which is a fit home for wild beasts, being surrounded by mountains whose summits reach to heaven,—Palladius, prefect of Alexandria, who was extremely addicted to the worship of idols, prohibited the citizens from expressing their regret, either publicly in the city or privately in their own homes. Many of those who transgressed this order, were scourged, lacerated, and tortured, and were then sent to labour in the mines of Phenœum and of Proconnessus; yet these were inspired men, who zealously defended the church. Amongst them were twenty-three monks who had led a life of great austerity in the wilderness. A deacon, who had conveyed some consolatory letters to our beloved brother, Damasus, bishop of Rome, was arrested as a criminal, and had his hands fastened behind his back. He was tortured with equal if not with greater severity than he would have been had he committed a murder.

His head was beaten with stones and with masses of lead, and he was then put into the ship and sent out to sea with the others. On entering the vessel, he made the sign of the cross: he was sent to the mines of Phenœum, without any supplies of provisions, or of the necessaries of life. Young children were, by order of the judge, put to the torture; while the bodies of those who had been killed were closely guarded, to prevent their parents, brothers, relations, and, so to speak, the whole city, from rendering them the rite of sepulture; for permission had been requested to perform this office. But O how great was the inhumanity of the judgment, or rather of the condemnation! Those who had so nobly struggled for the cause of religion received a severer sentence than murderers; for their bodies were deprived of burial, and were thrown to the beasts and birds of prey. Those who were led from pity or from conscientious feelings to sympathise with the parents, were immediately condemned, as if they had committed some flagrant misdemeanour, to have their heads broken. What law of the Romans, what decree of the barbarians, prohibits sympathy with afflicted parents? What tyrant of antiquity ever pronounced so unjust a sentence? Pharaoh commanded that all the male children of the Hebrews should be put to death; but he was excited to this deed by envy and by fear. How far more inhuman are the crimes now perpetrated than the cruel command of Pharaoh! If it were possible to choose between two evils, the acts of barbarity of former times would be chosen as preferable to those which we now suffer.

Although the facts which I have related are incredible, inhuman, cruel, and barbarous, yet they gave pleasure to the followers of the Arian infatuation. At the very time that the whole city was filled with mourning, and when there was not, to use an expression found in the book of Exodus, a house in which there was not one dead, the cruelty of those who had accustomed themselves to iniquity was still unsatiated. They proceeded to lay their hands on the bishops of the province, whom they arrested, through the instrumentality of Magnus, the public treasurer, above-mentioned. Some of the bishops were dragged before the tribunals; and they harassed the others in various ways, omitting nothing that they could devise to seduce every one into irreligion. Like the devil, who is the father of their heresy, they go about seeking whom they can devour. They exiled eleven bishops from Egypt, because they constantly opposed them. These bishops had in early youth entered upon a life of austerity, and had dwelt in the desert to an advanced age, having overcome voluptuousness by reason. They had imbibed religious doctrines with the milk with which they had been nourished in infancy; and they preached the faith with boldness. They had gained many victories over the demons: by the power of virtue they had covered their adversaries with confusion; and by the force of their reasonings they had refuted heresy. These bishops were banished, through the intervention of Magnus (that minister of cruelty already mentioned), to a place named Diocæsarea, inhabited by the Jews, who had slain the Lord. But, like

hell, the persecutors were not satisfied, although they had slain so many of our brethren; and in their folly and infatuation they determined to leave throughout the earth monuments of their cruelty. They banished to Neocæsarea, a town of Pontus, some clergy of the catholic church of Antioch, who had, with some pious monks, resolved to protest against the artifices which they resorted to in the propagation of their evil heresy. These holy men died soon after their banishment; perhaps the ungenial climate of their place of exile occasioned their death."

Such were the tragical incidents of this period. Although they deserve to be buried in oblivion, yet they have been handed down to posterity in various written documents, to the condemnation of those who used their tongues against the only Begotten One, and who not only blasphemously opposed the Ruler of the universe, but who also waged implacable war against his faithful servants.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MAVIA, QUEEN OF THE SARACENS.—ORDINATION OF MOSES, A MONK.

At this period the tribes of Ishmaelites ravaged the provinces situated on the frontiers of the empire. They were led by Mavia, who, notwithstanding her sex, possessed masculine intrepidity. After several engagements, she made peace with the Romans; and having received the light of the knowledge of God,

she requested that a certain man named Moses, who dwelt on the borders of Egypt and Palestine, might be ordained bishop of her nation. Valens acceded to the request, and desired that the holy man should be conveyed to Alexandria, and that he should there receive the holy rite of ordination; for this city was nearer his place of residence than any other. After his arrival at Alexandria, when he found that Lucius desired to lay his hands upon him for the purpose of ordination, he said, "God forbid that I should receive ordination at your hands; for the grace of the Spirit is not given in answer to your prayers." "Upon what ground," said Lucius, "do you hazard these conjectures?" "I say what I positively know," replied he, "not what I conjecture. You oppose the apostolical doctrines, and you speak against them; and the iniquity of your actions coincides with the blasphemy of your words. Whom have you not employed to disturb the assemblies of the church? Which of the eminent men have you not exiled? What inhumanity can be compared, in point of cruelty, to that exhibited in your daily actions?" Lucius was deeply incensed, and wished to put him to death; but, not daring to renew a war which had but just been terminated, he ordered him to be conveyed to the other bishops by whom he desired to be ordained. After having received, in addition to his fervent faith, the archiepiscopal dignity, he, by his apostolical doctrines, and by the working of miracles, led many to the knowledge of the truth. Such were the crimes perpetrated by Lucius in Alexandria, and thus did Divine Providence frustrate his designs.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CRIMES PERPETRATED AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Arians of Constantinople, after having made the pious presbyters embark on board an unballasted ship, sent them out to sea. They desired men of their sect, who sailed in another vessel, to set fire to that in which the presbyters were embarked. When this order was executed, the presbyters, having to contend against flames and billows, found a grave in the deep, and obtained the crown of martyrdom. Valens remained during a long period at Antioch, and gave permission to the Greeks, to the Jews, and to those of all other religions, as also to those who assumed the name of Christians, to preach anything they pleased contrary to the evangelical doctrines. The Greeks celebrated those superstitious ceremonies from which they had formerly been reclaimed, and restored the worship of demons, which had been abolished by Jovian after the death of Julian. The festivals of Jupiter, Bacchus, and Ceres, were no longer celebrated by stealth, in secret places, as ought to be the case under the reign of a religious emperor; but they were held in the centre of the market place. Valens was only opposed to those who preached the doctrines of the apostles. He first drove them from their churches, although Julian had presented them with newly erected churches: when they afterwards assembled at the foot of a mountain to hear the word of God and sing his praise, although they had to

contend with the inclemency of the weather, and were exposed to rain, snow, and frost, they were not permitted to enjoy even this privilege, obtained as it was at the cost of much labour; for Valens sent his soldiers to drive them away.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ANTIOCH DEFENDED BY FLAVIAN AND DIODORUS.

Flavian and Diodorus stationed themselves as bulwarks to restrain the violence of the billows of persecution. The pastor of the city having been compelled to relinquish his post, they undertook the care of the flock during his absence; and by their courage and wisdom defended it from the attacks of wolves. After having been driven away from the foot of the mountain, they led the flock beside the banks of the neighbouring stream. They did not, like the captives of Babylon, hang up their harps upon the willows; for they sang praises to their Creator in every part of his empire. But the enemy did not long permit these pious pastors, who preached the divinity of the Lord Christ, to hold assemblies in any place; and they were soon compelled to lead the flock to spiritual pasturage in the gymnasium in which the soldiers performed their exercises. The wise and courageous Diodorus resembled a large and limpid stream which furnishes plentiful supplies of water to those who dwell on its banks, and which at the same time engulphs adversaries. He despised the advantages of high birth,

and underwent the severest exertions in defence of the faith. Flavian was also of illustrious birth, yet he considered that piety alone constitutes true nobility. At this period Flavian did not preach in the public assemblies, but he furnished Diodorus with the subjects of his discourses, and supplied him with Scriptural arguments, thus anointing him, as it were, for the conflicts of the spiritual gymnasium. They thus jointly attacked the Arian blasphemy. In their own private dwellings, as well as in public places, they disputed with the Arians, easily confuted their sophistical reasoning, and proved its futility. Aphraates, whose life I have written in my history, entitled "Philotheus," joined them about this period. He considered the deliverance of the flock to be of greater moment than his own individual repose, and he quitted his monastery to labour in the cause of the church. I think that it would now be superfluous to describe his great and numerous virtues, as I have enlarged on the subject in another of my works. I shall merely relate one of his actions, it being connected with the events recorded in this history.

CHAPTER XXVI.

APHRAATES THE HOLY MONK.

The palace of the city of Antioch is washed on the north by the river Orontes: on the south there is a large portico with two stories which touch the walls of the city, and which have two high towers. Between the palace and the river is a public road leading from

the city to the suburbs. One day as Aphraates was passing along this road on his way to the military gymnasium, where he then tended his flock, he attracted the notice of the emperor, who was then on the top of the portico, and who, remarking an old man clad in a rough goat-skin garment, was told, upon enquiry, that that was Aphraates, and that he possessed great authority over all the inhabitants of the city. The emperor then said to him, "Where are you going?" Aphraates with great wisdom replied, "I am going to pray for the preservation of your empire." "But you ought," said the emperor, "to remain at home, and to pray according to the monastical rules." To this the holy man replied, "Your observation, O emperor, is just; and, indeed, while the flock of Christ remained at peace, I pursued the line of conduct which you recommend. But now that the flock is involved in so many afflictions, and is exposed to so many perils from the attacks of wild beasts, I am compelled to use every effort for the rescue of the sheep. Tell me, O emperor," he continued, "how a damsel ought to act under the following circumstances:—We will suppose that while she is sitting in her chamber, her father's house, of which she is left in charge, is set on fire: what ought she to do? Ought she to remain within her apartment, allowing the flames to spread until they reach and consume her? Or ought she not rather to run hither and thither to fetch water and to extinguish the flames? You will surely admit that she ought to adopt the latter course; for she would thus be acting according to the suggestions of prudence. I am now,

O emperor, doing the same thing. I am running to extinguish the flames which you have kindled in my Father's house." While he made these statements, the emperor remained silent. But one of the members of the imperial household had the insolence to threaten the holy man; and vengeance in consequence speedily overtook him. It was his office to prepare the baths; and directly after he had addressed these menaces to Aphraates, he went to get one ready for the emperor. As soon as he reached the spot, he lost his senses, threw himself into the hot water, and almost immediately expired. After some time had elapsed, the emperor, who was sitting waiting for him to announce that the bath was ready, sent to ascertain the cause of the delay. Those who were sent on this message found him dead in the hot bath. When this was announced to the emperor, they all recognised the power of the prayers of Aphraates, yet did not renounce their impious sentiments. The emperor hardened his heart like Pharaoh, and became yet more prejudiced against piety.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. JULIAN AND ANTHONY THE GREAT.

About the same time the celebrated Julian, of whom I have already spoken, was compelled to leave the desert and go to Antioch. The Arians, who had been long habituated to falsehood, and to the invention of calumnies, declared that this holy man had joined their party. Flavian, Diodorus, and Aphraates, who were illustrious defenders of the truth, sent the faith-

ful Acacius, who was afterwards raised to the government of the church of Berœa, to this celebrated man, beseeching him to have pity upon so many millions of men, and to confute the falsehood of the enemy by bearing witness to the truth. The miracles which he performed during his journey, and after his arrival in the city of Antioch, I have fully related in my history, entitled "Philotheus," where those who desire information respecting them, may easily obtain it. That all the inhabitants of this populous city crowded to our assemblies, will not be doubted by those who are acquainted with human nature; for men are generally attracted by whatever is strange and marvellous. Even the enemies of truth acknowledge that he performed a great many wonderful miracles. Anthony acted in the same way during the reign of Constantine at Alexandria: he left the solitudes of the desert to go about every part of the city, warning the inhabitants that the Arians were opposing the truth, and that the doctrines of the apostles were preached only by Athanasius. Thus did these holy men know how to meet the emergencies of every period; they knew when to remain in retirement, and when to leave the desert and repair to the cities.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ACCOUNT OF THE OTHER CELEBRATED MONKS OF THIS PERIOD.

There were at this time other monks who obtained just celebrity. In the desert of Chalcedonia, Avitus,

Abraham, and not a few others, led a calm and spiritual life in a body subject to passion. In the neighbourhood of Apamea, Agapus, Simeon, Paul, and others, taught the most sublime philosophy. In the province of Zeugma, Publius and Paul adopted the same course of life. The renowned Acepsemas passed sixty years shut up in a cell in Cyrestes, without speaking to any one or seeing any human being. The admirable Zeugmatus, although deprived of the use of his eyes, carefully tended the flock, and defended it from the attacks of wolves. On this account the heretics set fire to his cell; but Trajan, one of the military commanders, who was a man of great piety, had another cell built for him, and took him under his own protection. Marianus, Eusebius, Ammian, Palladius, Symeon, Abraham, and others, preserved the image of God in the neighbourhood of Antioch, it being engraven in their own souls. I have written the history of their lives. The mountain which is situated in the neighbourhood of the great city was no less honoured, for here dwelt Peter, a native of Galatia, and an Egyptian who bore the same name, and also Romanus, Severus, Zeno, Moses, Malchus, and many others, who, though unknown to the multitude, were known to God.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA, AND EPHRAIM OF SYRIA.

At this period the admirable Ephraim dwelt at Edessa, and the illustrious Didymus at Alexandria;

they both wrote against the dogmas of the opponents of truth. Ephraim used the Syriac language as a medium for reflecting the rays of divine grace; and although unacquainted with the language of the Greeks, he most ably refuted all their errors, and exposed all the evil machinations of the heretics. Harmonius, the son of Bardesanis, having composed some hymns, in which impiety was disguised beneath the charms of verse, to the destruction of those who listened to them; Ephraim composed others, in which harmony and melody were combined with piety, and which subserved all the purposes of valuable and efficacious medicine. These verses are, even to this day, used at the festivals celebrated in honour of the victorious martyrs. Although Didymus had lost his sight in youth, he had applied himself to the study of poetry, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; he had acquired, by means of the organ of hearing alone, a thorough acquaintance with the logic of Aristotle, and with the eloquence of Plato. These branches of knowledge are not to be regarded as teaching truth, but as furnishing weapons which may be used against falsehood in the defence of truth. He also committed the Sacred Scriptures to memory, and acquired the knowledge, not only of words, but also of their signification. These were some of the monks who rendered themselves conspicuous by their virtues during this period.

CHAPTER XXX.

CELEBRATED BISHOPS OF PONTUS AND OF ASIA, WHO FLOURISHED DURING THIS PERIOD.

Among the bishops of this period may be mentioned the two Gregories, of whom one was bishop of Nazianzenus, and the other of Nyssa. The one was the brother of the great Basil, and the other his friend and fellow-labourer. They distinguished themselves in Cappadocia by their zeal in defending religion. Peter, the brother of Basil and of Gregory, rendered himself likewise conspicuous by his virtuous life, although he was not deeply versed in general learning. Optimus in Syria, and Amphilochius in Lycaonia, zealously defended the faith, and repelled the attacks of the adversaries. In the West, Damasis, bishop of Rome, and Ambrose, bishop of Milan, successfully combated the designs of the enemies. Those who had been banished to the extremities of the empire, were united with them in spirit, and by their letters strengthened their faith, and animated them against their opponents. In the terrific tempest to which the church was exposed, the Ruler of all things had thus provided skilful pilots and physicians to devise suitable remedies for the evils with which she was then afflicted. But these were not the only means adopted by the gracious Lord for the preservation of the church. He provided likewise in other ways for her safety.

CHAPTER XXXI.

LETTER WRITTEN ON WAR BY VALENS TO VALENTINIAN, AND THE REPLY OF THE LATTER.

The Goths having prepared for war, Valens was obliged to retreat towards the Bosphorus, for he only knew how to fight against religion. Being aware of his own weakness, he sent to implore aid from his brother. But Valentinian wrote back in reply, that it would be wrong to assist a man who had taken up arms against God, and that it would be only just to allow his effrontery to be repressed. This reply filled the unhappy man with the deepest sorrow, yet he did not desist from his course of violence, but persevered in his opposition to the truth.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PIETY OF TERENTIUS.

Terentius, a general distinguished by his valour and by his piety, was able, on his return from Armenia, to erect trophies of victory. Valens promised to give him every thing that he might desire. But he asked not for gold or silver; for lands, power, or houses; but he requested that a church might be given to those who preached the apostolical doctrines. When the emperor received the petition and read the contents, he was highly irritated, and desired Terentius to ask something else. Terentius picked up

the torn fragments of the document, and said, "I have received, O emperor, the gift which I desired, and I shall ask no other. The Judge of all sees and judges my intentions."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

BOLDNESS OF TRAJAN, A MILITARY CHIEF.

When Valens had passed the Bosphorus and had arrived in Thrace, he at first remained for some time in Constantinople, making preparations for war. He sent Trajan, the general, with some troops, against the barbarians. Trajan was defeated; and, on his return, the emperor reproached him severely, and accused him of weakness and of cowardice. But Trajan replied with great boldness: "It is not I, O emperor, who have been defeated; for you, by fighting against God, have thrown the barbarians upon His protection, and have thus surrendered the victory to them. For as you have taken up arms against God, He has ranged himself on the side of your enemies. With Him is victory, and those triumph who are led by Him. Do you not know," continued he, "who those are whom you have driven from the churches, and who are those to whom you have given them up?" Arintheus and Victor, the other commanders, accorded in what had been said, and besought the emperor to reflect on the truth of their remonstrances.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PREDICTION OF ISAAC, A HERMIT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

It is said that Isaac, who dwelt in a solitary tent near Constantinople, exclaimed, on seeing the emperor depart at the head of his army, "Where are you marching, O emperor? You, who have declared war against God cannot receive His aid. He has raised up the barbarians against you, because you have excited many to blasphemy against Him, and have driven away from the churches those who celebrated His praises. Cease, then, from fighting against Him, and He will terminate the war. Restore the pastors to their flocks, and then you will obtain a bloodless victory. But if you despise my advice, and rush into battle, you will find how hard it is to kick against the pricks. You will never return, but will perish with your troops." The emperor was enraged, and answered, "I shall return, and your life shall pay the penalty of your false prediction." Isaac, not at all terrified by the threat, rejoined in a loud tone of voice, "Let me be slain if my words prove false."

CHAPTER XXXV.

BOLDNESS OF VETRANION, BISHOP OF SCYTHIA.

Vetranion, who was noted for possessing every virtue, was bishop of all the cities of Scythia. Being filled with divine zeal, he rebuked Valens for having

corrupted the doctrines of the faith, and for having unjustly persecuted the saints; and repeated to him in a loud voice the following words of the most holy David, "I shall speak of thy testimonies before kings, and shall not be ashamed" (Ps. cxix. 46).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

EXPEDITION OF VALENS AGAINST THE GOTHS.—THE PENALTY OF HIS IMPIETY.

VALENS, despising the wise advice which he had received, sent his army against the enemy, while he himself remained in a village waiting the issue of the battle. His troops, not being able to resist the onset of the barbarians, were put to flight, and were closely pursued. When they reached the village in which Valens was concealed, the barbarians set fire to it, and the enemy of religion perished in the flames. Thus, even in this life, did Valens receive the punishment of his iniquities.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE GOTHS SEDUCED INTO THE ARIAN HERESY.

I THINK that I ought to narrate, for the information of those who may be unacquainted with the facts, how the Goths were led to receive the Arian errors. When they passed the Danube, and entered into alliance with Valens, the wicked Eudoxius, who was present, suggested to the emperor that the Goths

ought to be constrained to hold communion with them. This nation had received from the first the light of the knowledge of God, and had been nourished in the apostolical doctrines. "Peace," said Eudoxius, "would be cemented between us by their becoming one with us in sentiment." Valens, approving of this advice, proposed to the chief persons among them to assent to the doctrines which he held; but they replied that they could not abandon the doctrines of their fathers. Urfila was then their bishop, and possessed so much influence among them, that they received his words as laws. Eudoxius, having gained him over by soft words and by numerous gifts, persuaded him to lead the Goths to embrace conformity in religion with the emperor. He accomplished his purpose by assuring him that there existed no difference between them in point of doctrine, and that the disputes in the church had originated from the ambition of a few individuals. Hence it is that unto this day the Goths say that the Father is greater than the Son; but they do not say that the Son is a creature, although they admit those who hold this opinion to communion. Hence they have not utterly abandoned the doctrines of their fathers. When Urfila persuaded them to hold communion with Eudoxius and Valens, he assured them that there existed no difference between them in point of doctrine, but that vain altercations had produced dissonance of opinion.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

BOOK V.—CHAPTER I.

PIETY OF THE EMPEROR GRATIAN.

The conduct and the fate of Julian clearly exhibit how long the Lord God bears with those who rise up against him; and how he takes vengeance on those who abuse his long-suffering. Mercy and justice are, as it were, the two scales of the balance in which he weighs the actions of men. When the crimes of any one are so great as to preponderate over mercy, the equilibrium of the balance is restored by the exercise of the vengeance which is demanded by justice.

Gratian, the son of Valentinian, and the nephew of Valens, obtained possession of the whole empire. He had been raised to the empire of Europe after his father's death, and had previously been associated with him in the government. After the death of Valens, he added Asia and the rest of Lybia to his dominions.

CHAPTER II.

RETURN OF THE BISHOPS.

Gratian immediately manifested the piety with which he was imbued, and consecrated the first-fruits of his empire to God. He enacted a law enjoining that the pastors who had been banished should be restored to their flocks, and that the churches should

be given up to those who held communion with Damasis, who was the bishop of Rome, and highly celebrated on account of the sanctity of his life; for he was ready to say and to do everything in defence of the apostolical doctrines. He had succeeded Liberius in the government of the church. Gratian sent Sapor, a renowned military chief, to carry this law into execution, to drive away from the churches, as wild beasts, those who preached the blasphemies of Arius, and to restore the church to the faithful pastors, and to the holy flocks. This law was executed in all the provinces without any opposition. In Antioch, however, which is the metropolis of the East, many disputes arose in consequence.

CHAPTER III.

CONTENTION OF PAULINUS.—NEW DOCTRINES INTRODUCED BY APOLLINARIS.—WISDOM AND PIETY OF MELITIUS.

Those who adhered to the apostolical doctrines were, as we have already stated, divided into two parties. One party had seceded from detestation of the perfidy of the Arians immediately after the insidious machinations which they had formed against the great Eusebius, and had assembled apart under the pastoral care of Paulinus. It was not till after the ordination of Euzoius that the other party, who were then ruled by Melitius, separated from the impious Arians. Besides these separatists, Apollinaris of Laodicea had made himself the head of another party. He at first appeared to adhere to

piety, and to defend the apostolical doctrines; but it soon became evident that he was hostile to these principles. He advanced very corrupt hypotheses respecting the Divine nature, which he represented as comprising degrees of perfection; and he had the boldness to declare that the mysterious dispensation of redemption is imperfect; and that the reasoning soul, whose office it is to guide the body, has no part in salvation. He said that the Word, who is God, did not at his incarnation assume this principle of our nature, and that it was neither honoured nor redeemed by Him. Thus the body, which is earthy, is supposed to be revered by invisible powers, while the soul which was made in the image of God is considered inferior to it, being regarded as immersed in sin and dishonour. The deplorable blindness of his understanding led him to circulate many other errors. Sometimes he agreed in the doctrine that Christ assumed flesh of the holy virgin; at others, he said that His human body descended with the Word from heaven; and, at other times, he said that the Word took flesh without assuming our nature. He mixed up with the Divine promises, fables and idle fictions, which are not worth recounting here. By these false doctrines he not only seduced his own party, but also deluded some who belonged to ours. When, at a subsequent period, those whom he had deceived were led to contrast the weakness of their sect with the majesty and numerical superiority of the church, they all, with few exceptions, returned to the church, and entered into communion with her; yet they retained their impious sentiments. This is the

root whence has sprung an evil doctrine now prevalent in the church. Those who hold this doctrine affirm that the human and Divine natures of Christ form but one nature; they attribute the capacity of suffering to the Divine nature of the only begotten Son, and teach many other errors which have excited great controversy among the laity and the clergy. But all the above incidents did not occur till after the period at present under consideration.

When Sapor, the commander, arrived in Antioch, and proclaimed the mandate of the emperor, Paulinus promised to communicate on the subject with Damasis. Apollinaris also made the same promise; but this he did in order to conceal the heterodoxy of his opinions. St. Melitius remained a quiet spectator of their contention. The wise Flavius, who ranked at that period among the presbyters, addressed Paulinus in the following manner, in the presence of Sapor: "If you are in communion, O friend, with Damasis, prove to us clearly that your doctrines are in accordance with his. He declared that in the Trinity there is one substance and three persons; you, on the contrary, deny that there are three persons in the Trinity. If you agree with him in doctrine, you shall receive authority over the churches." Having thus convicted and silenced Paulinus, he next addressed Apollinaris. "I am amazed, O friend," said he, "at the shameless manner in which you have opposed truth. You clearly understand that Damasis asserts that God the Word assumed the nature of complete humanity. You, however, maintain a contrary doctrine. You say that the soul is excluded from sal-

vation. If this be a false accusation, prove it to be so by denouncing the innovations which are attributed to you; embrace the doctrine of Damasis, and receive possession of the churches." With these words the wise Flavius closed his discourse. Then Melitius, the mildest of men, addressed Paulinus in a kind and affectionate manner: "As God," said he, "committed to me the care of this flock, and as you have received the charge of another, and as our respective sheep hold the same doctrines of religion, let us, O friend, unite our flocks; let us throw aside all contests for superiority, and tend with equal assiduity the sheep entrusted to us. If the episcopal chair of this city be to us a matter of contention, let us place the holy gospel upon it, and let us seat ourselves on each side of it. If I die first, you, O friend, will become the only ruler of the flock: but if your death occur before mine, I will, as far as I am able, tend the flock alone." Paulinus, however, refused to comply with the offer so kindly and affectionately made by Melitius. The general, after reflecting on what had been stated, gave up the churches to the holy Melitius. Paulinus continued to rule those who had from the beginning separated themselves from the rest of the flock.

CHAPTER IV.

EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF SAMOSATA.

Apollinaris, on finding himself excluded from the government of the churches, publicly preached the new doctrines which he had devised, and openly

appeared as the originator of a new heresy. He chiefly fixed his residence at Laodicea. He had previously ordained as bishop in Antioch, a man named Vitalis, who possessed many virtues, and who had been educated in the doctrines of the apostles, but who had afterwards imbibed heretical opinions. Diodorus, of whom mention has been already made as having saved the vessel of the church in the midst of a furious tempest, was raised by the holy Melitius to the bishopric of Tarsus, and entrusted with the superintendance of the whole province of Cilicia. Melitius committed the bishopric of Apamea to John, the descendant of an illustrious family, who was rendered more conspicuous by his own merits than by those of his ancestors, and who was celebrated for the purity of his doctrine and of his life. He had ruled in the assemblies of the faithful during the times of persecution. His fellow labourer, Stephen, who also deserved the highest praise, was sent to other scenes of conflict; for when Melitius was informed that in the city of Germanicia many persons had been corrupted by the pernicious dogmas of Eudoxius, he sent him as a skilful physician to heal the disease. Stephen was well versed in all the learning of the Greeks, and had also been nourished in the divine doctrines. The hopes which had been formed of him did not prove fallacious; for by his spiritual teaching he changed wolves into sheep. The great Eusebius, on his return from exile, appointed Acacius, who enjoyed a high degree of fame, to rule the church of Berœa; and Theodotus, whose religious course of life is celebrated even to this day,

he raised to the bishopric of Jerapole. He also ordained Eusebius bishop of Chalcidia, and likewise our own lord, Isidore. They were both admirable men, filled with zeal for God. It is also said that he ordained Eulogius to the bishopric of Edessa. Eulogius had zealously defended the doctrines of the apostles; and had been banished with Protogenes to the city of Antinous. The admirable bishop Barses had died before this period. Melitius placed Protogenes, who had shared all the conflicts of Eulogius, in the bishopric of Carras, and sent him as a skilful physician to the city to heal the spiritual diseases of its inhabitants. Lastly, St. Eusebius ordained Maris to the bishopric of Dolica, a small town infected at that period by the Arian heresy. Maris being an exemplary man, and endowed with many virtues, the great Eusebius desired to install him himself in the episcopal chair, and accordingly went to Dolica. As he was entering the city, a woman who had imbibed the Arian errors threw down a tile from the top of a house upon his head: he survived the blow but a short time, and was translated to a better life. When he drew near his end, he made those around him promise upon oath never to seek for the woman who had committed the deed. He thus strove to imitate his Lord, who prayed for those who crucified him, saying, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke xxiii. 34). And in the same way Stephen, a fellow-labourer in the ministry, cried out when volleys of stones were cast at him, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Such, after all his numerous conflicts, was the end of the great Eusebius.

After having escaped from the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, he suffered by those of impious heretics. But those hands obtained for him the crown of martyrdom. All that I have now related took place after the return of the bishops from exile.

Gratian heard that the barbarians who had burnt Valens had gone into Thrace; and in consequence he left Italy and repaired to Pannonia.

CHAPTER V.

VICTORY OF THE GENERAL THEODOSIUS.

At this time Theodosius was universally held in the highest honour on account of his valour and of his illustrious birth. To evade the envy of those who were his equals in rank, he resided in Spain, the place of his birth and of his education. The emperor, perceiving that the barbarians were highly inflated with their late victory, thought that the most effectual method of arresting the evils of war would be to place Theodosius at the head of the army. Having therefore sent for him from Spain, and promoted him to the rank of general, he sent him with the troops against the enemy. Being encouraged and animated by faith, he marched onwards with corresponding alacrity. As soon as he arrived in Thrace he ranged his troops in order of battle. He fell upon the barbarians with an impetuosity which they could not withstand; he broke their ranks, compelled them to take flight, and hotly pursued them. Many of the barbarians were slain, not only by the Romans, but

also by their own countrymen. The greater number of them fell, while a few succeeded in effecting an escape by crossing the Danube. After obtaining this complete victory, the illustrious general hastened to convey the intelligence of his own achievements, and of the laurels he had gained, to the emperor: but the whole relation seemed so incredible, that the emperor would scarcely give credit to it, while certain persons, stimulated by envy, were led to declare that he had taken to flight, and that the army had been destroyed. To confute his adversaries, he requested that messengers might be dispatched to the field of battle, where the dead bodies of the barbarians were lying. "It will be easy," said he, "to compute the number of the slain by the spoils left on the field." The emperor assented to this request, and sent persons to inspect the spot, and to ascertain the truth of the report.

CHAPTER VI.

DREAMS OF THEODOSIUS.

In the meantime the admirable general saw a vision which was evidently revealed to him by the God of all. He thought that Melitius, the bishop of the church of Antioch, invested him with the imperial robes, and placed the crown upon his head. He saw this vision during the night; and in the morning he mentioned it to one of his friends, who told him that the dream was certainly neither enigmatical nor ambiguous. After the lapse of a few days the messengers who had been sent to inspect the field of

battle returned, and reported that thousands of the barbarians had fallen. The emperor believed their assertion, rejoiced that he had appointed so excellent a general, associated him with himself in the government of the empire, gave to him all the Eastern provinces which had been held by Valens, and then returned to Italy. As soon as Theodosius obtained the imperial government, his first endeavour was to restore concord among the churches. He assembled all the bishops of his part of the empire to Constantinople. The Arian heresy was received in this city alone, all the other regions of the Western empire having been happily preserved from it. Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine, and Constans the youngest son, had preserved inviolate the faith of their father, and Valentinian, the emperor of the West, had carefully fostered religion.

CHAPTER VII.

CELEBRATED BISHOPS OF THE ARIAN FACTION.

The errors of Arianism had been propagated throughout the greater part of the Eastern empire. Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria, in Egypt, and had there disseminated his blasphemous opinions. The evil seed was watered by Patrophilus and Aëtius of Palestine, by Paulinus and Gregory of Phenœcia, by Theodotus of Laodicea, by George his successor, and, at a subsequent period, by Athanasius and Narcissus of Cilicia. Eusebius and Theognis of Bithynia, Menophantes the Ephesian, Theodore of

Perinthius, Maris of Chalcedonia, and others from Thrace, distinguished only by their evil qualities, carefully cultivated the tares, and contributed greatly to their growth. The labours of these wicked husbandmen were forwarded by the weakness of Constantius and by the impiety of Valens. It was on this account that Theodosius commanded only the bishops belonging to his own empire to assemble at Constantinople. When they had assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty, he desired them not to point out the great Melitius to him, for he wished to recognise his person by the sole remembrance of what he had seen in his dream. When the whole assembly of bishops had been ushered into the palace, the emperor, without noticing the others, ran up directly to the great Melitius, and embraced him, kissed his eyes, lips, breast, head, and the right hand which had crowned him, and exhibited all those demonstrations of affection which would be shown by a dutiful son on beholding a beloved father after a long separation. He recounted to him the vision which he had seen. After having spoken with great benevolence to all the other bishops, he besought them, as though they had been his fathers, to deliberate on the subject for which they had met.

CHAPTER VIII.

COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The bishop who had formerly ruled the church of Nazianzus was at this period residing at Constan-

tinople, zealously opposing the Arian blasphemies. He fed the people of God with doctrines of the gospel. He sought out those who had wandered from the flock, and reclaimed them from the pernicious pasturages; and thus the sheep under his care rapidly increased in numbers. On perceiving his assiduity, the holy Melitius, who was well acquainted with the spirit of those canons which, for the purpose of frustrating ambitious schemes, prohibited the translation of bishops, confirmed the most divine Gregory in the bishopric of Constantinople. A short time afterwards Melitius entered upon that life which is exempt from sorrow; and funeral orations were delivered in his praise by all who possessed the gift of oratory. Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, who had succeeded Peter the successor of Athanasius, ordained Maximus in the office of the admirable Gregory. This Maximus was a cynic, and had long hair, similar to that worn by all philosophers of his sect, but it was cut off by order of Timothy. He held the pernicious doctrines of Apollinaris. The bishops who were then assembled at the council did not approve of this extraordinary proceeding. They were all exemplary men, and full of divine zeal and wisdom. Helladius, the successor of the great Basil, Gregory and Peter the brothers of the same Basil, Amphilochius, bishop of Lycaonia, Optimus, bishop of Pisidia, and Diodorus, bishop of Cilicia, were among them. There were also present Pelagius, bishop of Laodicea, Eulogius, bishop of Edessa, Acacius, bishop of Berœa, Isidore, our own bishop, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, Gelasius, bishop of Cæsarea,

in Palestine, a man distinguished by the purity of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life, and many others of extraordinary virtue. All these bishops had withdrawn from communion with the Egyptians, and held their sacred assemblies in concert with the great Gregory. This bishop exhorted them to unity, and told them that as they had assembled for the purpose of restoring peace to the church, they ought to seek concord among each other above all individual considerations. "By this means," said he, "I shall be delivered from many anxieties; I shall enjoy the repose which I desire, and you, after a long and distressing war, will secure the blessings of peace. For it would be most absurd if, now that we have just escaped from the weapons of our enemies, we were to fall upon each other, and destroy our own strength, thus causing those who hate us to rejoice. Seek then for a man of virtue and of wisdom, capable of directing the multitude, and of bearing the weight of so great a responsibility, and place him in the archiepiscopal office." These excellent pastors acquiesced in these suggestions, and elected Nectarius, a man of noble birth and extraordinary virtue, bishop of the metropolis of the empire. They condemned Maximus to be deprived of the archiepiscopal dignity, because he had embraced the errors of Apollinaris. After having framed some canons for the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline, and after having confirmed the Nicean confession of faith, they separated and returned to their respective places of residence. The following summer many of them were again obliged by some ecclesiastical affairs to assemble in the metro-

polis. They there received a letter from the bishops of the West, inviting them to attend a general council about to be held in Rome. But these bishops refused to undertake a journey from which no advantage could accrue to them. They however wrote to them, described the storm which had been excited against the church, and gently reminded them of their neglect. They also wrote a brief summary of the doctrines of the apostles. To show the virtue and wisdom of the writers, I shall insert the letter.

CHAPTER IX.

SYNODICAL LETTER INDITED BY THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

"To our most honoured lords, and most religious brethren and fellow-ministers, Damasis, Ambrose, Brittonius, Valerian, Ascholius, Anemius, Basil, and to the other holy bishops assembled in the great city of Rome, the orthodox bishops, who are convened in the great city of Constantinople, send greeting in the Lord.

"It would be useless to describe to you, as if you were ignorant of the facts, the innumerable evils which we have suffered from the fury and the power of the Arians. For we cannot believe that our sufferings have been regarded with so much indifference by you, that you can now require to be informed of that in which you ought long ago to have sympathised. The tempests with which we have been visited cannot be unknown to you.

The shortness of the time which has elapsed since the persecution, renders it impossible that these things could have passed away from the memory either of the sufferers, or of those whose love constrains them to make the sorrows of others their own. It was but, as it were, yesterday, that many who had been exposed to numberless afflictions were permitted to return from banishment. The dead bodies of many who died in exile have been brought home. Some, after their return from banishment, have been exposed to greater sufferings in their own houses, from the fury of the heretics, than they ever experienced in foreign and distant lands. Some of them, like the blessed Stephen, were stoned to death. Various species of tortures were inflicted on others, so that they bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus. Who can estimate the amount of the taxes which were laid upon the cities? Who can compute the number of individuals who were proscribed, or reckon up the long list of plots, of insults, and of imprisonments? In fact our sufferings were so multiplied as to exceed arithmetical computation; and this must have arisen either from the justice of God in visiting our sins with chastisement; or from his mercy, in being willing to exercise our patience by the severity of afflictions. We therefore return thanks to God for having, by so many visitations, bestowed instruction on us his servants, and for having, according to the fulness of his mercy, worked out deliverance for us. Much leisure, a long period of time, and great labour, are requisite to enable us to remove the disorders into which the church has so

long been plunged, and to restore it to its original state of healthful piety. For although we are now freed from the violence of persecutions, and have recovered the churches which were so long in the possession of the heretics, we are still molested by wolves who, ever since they have been expelled from the fold, have continually seized the sheep in the forests, have excited the people to sedition, and have watched for opportunities of injuring the church. Hence it is necessary, as I have already stated, to bestow much time upon these important matters. You have manifested to us your brotherly love, as is signified in the letters of your most pious emperor, by inviting us to attend as your members at the council which you intend, according to the will of God, to hold in Rome, in order that as we alone had to struggle with affliction, you may not reign alone now that the emperors are of one accord in religion ; but that, to use the expression of the apostle, we may reign with you. It was our prayer to have been enabled to comply with your desire, and we were ready to ask, Who will give us the wings of a dove, that we may fly to you and repose by your side? But we could not join you without leaving our churches, which now would be inexpedient, because the work of restoration is commencing, and nothing can be done without us. We were assembled at Constantinople when we received your letters. The preceding year we had been convened at the council of Aquila by the most pious emperor Theodosius. Those only who had been convened from the various provinces to the council of Con-

stantinople have been apprised of the proposition; and we were all of opinion that it was not expedient to undertake longer voyages. Besides the time is too short to admit of our making preparations for so long a journey, or of our communicating with the bishops of the various provinces on the subject, and obtaining their sanction. And besides, as many amongst us are prevented by other insuperable obstacles from undertaking the voyage, we adopt the only means in our power of effecting the two objects of carrying forward the restoration of the church, and at the same time of manifesting to you our love towards you. We have commissioned our most revered and honoured brethren and fellow-labourers, the bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscian, to go to you, and to certify that we desire nothing but peace, that we seek nothing but unity, and that all our zeal is concentrated in the maintenance of sound faith. Whether we have suffered persecutions, distresses, menaces of emperors, tyranny of rulers, or the cruelty of heretics, we have suffered them in defence of the faith of the gospel which was signed at Nice, in Bithynia, by three hundred and eighteen fathers. You, and I, and all who do not wish to overturn the word of truth, must agree in this confession of faith; for in it are set forth the ancient doctrines which are conformable to baptism, which teach us to believe in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and which declare that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have the same divinity, the same substance, and the same power; and that the three perfect hypostases, or three perfect persons, are

co-equal and co-eternal. Therefore we have rejected the hypothesis of Sabellius which confounds the three persons by denying their characteristics; neither do we receive the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians, or of the spiritualists, who divide the substance, the nature, and the divinity of the God-head, and who, denying the uncreated consubstantial and co-eternal Trinity, speak of a Trinity which they represent as having been created, or as consisting of diverse natures. We have preserved in all its purity the doctrine concerning the incarnation of the Lord, not admitting that he assumed an imperfect body, destitute either of a soul or of mind; but confessing that the Word of God was perfect before all ages, and that in the last times He, for our salvation, became perfect man. This is a brief summary of the faith which we constantly preach; you will be led to look upon this confession with still higher satisfaction if you will peruse the document written by the Synod of Antioch, and also that drawn up last year at the general council of Constantinople; for in these documents the doctrines of faith are more fully explained, and they contain likewise the condemnation, to which our own signatures are affixed, of the heresies which have lately arisen. With respect to the government of individual churches, there is, as you know, an ancient decree established by the holy fathers when assembled in Nice, which enjoins that the ceremony of ordination should be performed by the bishops of the particular province in which it takes place, or, if agreeable to them, by the bishops of the neighbouring provinces who may be with them. You must

know that we have closely adhered to this canon, and that the bishops of our most important cities have been ordained in accordance with it. The church of Constantinople, for instance, which may be said to be only recently founded, we having but just rescued it, through the mercy of God, from the blasphemy of the heretics as from the jaws of a lion, has received the most revered and beloved Narcissus for its bishop: he was ordained by the unanimous consent of the general council in the presence of our most pious emperor Theodosius, amid the joyful acclamations of the clergy and of all the city. In the same way also did the bishops of Syria and of the East ordain, by unanimous consent and with the approval of the church, the most honoured and beloved Flavian to the government of the church of Antioch, the city in which the name of Christian was first introduced. His ordination has since been ratified by a council. We must apprise you that the revered and pious Cyril is bishop of the church of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all the churches, that he was ordained according to law by the bishops of the province, and that he has in various places withstood the Arians. We beseech you to rejoice with us that these bishops have been ordained in a manner so strictly in accordance with the canon, and we entreat you to be united to them by spiritual love and by the fear of the Lord, which represses human passions, and which causes us to attach more importance to the edification of the church than to the love or sympathy of any creature. When we have come to one mind respecting the doctrines of faith, and when Christian love is esta-

blished between us, we shall cease from saying what the apostle condemns, 'I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas.' We shall all be of Christ, who will not be divided in us; but, by God's help, we shall preserve the oneness of the body of the church, and shall stand with confidence before the tribunal of the Lord."

Thus did the bishops write against the errors of Arius, Aëtius, Eunomius, Sabellius, Photinus, Marcellus, Paul of Samosata, and Macedonius. They also openly condemned the new doctrines of Apollinaris, saying:—"We have preserved unchanged the doctrine of our Lord's incarnation, and we cannot admit that he assumed our incomplete body destitute of either soul or mind." Damasis, who merited the highest celebrity, had no sooner heard of the rise of this heresy, than he deposed Apollinaris and his disciple Timothy, and ejected them from the church. This he signified to the bishops of the East by a letter which I shall now insert.

CHAPTER X.

LETTER OF DAMASIS, BISHOP OF ROME, AGAINST APOLLINARIS AND TIMOTHY.

"When you are led by love, my much honoured sons, to pay due reverence to the apostolical chair, it is much to your own advantage. For though we are placed at the helm of that great and holy church in which the holy apostle sat down to teach, yet we confess ourselves to be altogether unworthy of the

honour. And we strive earnestly, by every means in our power, to attain the glory and blessedness of which he is now possessed. Know then, that we have condemned Timothy, the disciple of the heretic Apollinaris, and his impious doctrines, and that we hope none of his sect will arise in future. If this old serpent, who has already been struck once or twice, and driven from the church, should revive to receive his own punishment, and should seek by his deadly venom to inflict mortal injury on some of the faithful, do you carefully shun his path, and adhere firmly and stedfastly to the faith of the apostles which was signed and published by the fathers at Nice; and permit not either the clergy or the people under your jurisdiction to give ear to vain words or forbidden questions. For we have already laid down the following rule, namely, that whoever professes to be a Christian ought to preserve the doctrines of the apostles; for Paul says, 'if any one preach another doctrine than that ye have received, let him be anathema.' Christ, our Lord, the Son of God, has by his sufferings obtained redemption for all mankind, and, by having borne the whole weight of human guilt, has delivered all men from sin. Whoever asserts that his human or Divine nature is imperfect, is full of the spirit of the devil, and shows himself to be the son of perdition. Why then should you ask me to depose Timothy? He has been already deposed with his teacher Apollinaris, by the sentence of the apostolic chair, in the presence of Peter, bishop of Alexandria; and in the day of judgment he will suffer the vengeance and the torments which are his due. If he seduce any light-minded persons to embrace his opinions, and

place his confidence in them, renouncing the confession of true hope in Christ, he will perish with all those who desire to subvert the canons of the church. May your God preserve you in health, my much honoured sons."

Other letters were written by the bishops assembled in Rome, against various heresies; and it is requisite to insert the following in this part of my history.

CHAPTER XI.

SECOND SYNODICAL LETTER WRITTEN BY DAMASIS AGAINST VARIOUS HERESIES.

CONFESSION of the Catholic faith, sent by the pope Damasis to the bishop Paulinus, when he was at Thessalonica in Macedonia.

"As since the council of Nice many errors have arisen, and some have even blasphemously presumed to say that the Holy Ghost was made by the Son, we pronounce anathema against all those who do not preach with cordiality that the Holy Ghost is of the same substance, and possesses the same power, as the Father and the Son. We also anathematize those who follow the error of Sabellius, and say that the Father is the same as the Son. We also anathematize Arius and Eunomius, who, with equal impiety although in different words, affirm that the Son and the Holy Ghost are created beings. We also anathematize the Macedonians, who, springing up from the root of Arius, have changed in name though not in impiety.

We anathematize Photinus, who, reviving the heresy of Ebion, declares that our Lord Jesus Christ is the son of Mary only. We anathematize those who say that there are two sons, one existing before all ages, and the other since the incarnation. We anathematize those who say that the Word of God, by assuming a human body, supplied the place of a rational soul in that body. The Word of God did not supply the place of a rational and intelligent soul in the body which he assumed. He took upon himself a rational and intelligent soul, but without sin, for the salvation of mankind. We anathematize those who say that the Word of God is in any way separated from the Father, that He is not of the same substance as the Father, or that He will have an end. Those who have wandered from church to church until they returned to the cities in which they were originally ordained, we hold to be estranged from communion with us. If, while any bishop is travelling from place to place, some one else happen to be ordained in his office, then he who left the city must remain deprived of the sacerdotal dignity until his successor is called to rest in the Lord. If any one say that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, have not always existed, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Son was begotten of the Father, that is to say, of his Divine nature, let him be anathema. If any one do not say that the Son is the true God, even as the Father is the true God, and that He can do all things, that He sees all things, and that He is equal to the Father, let him be anathema. If any one pretend that when the Son of

God took upon him our flesh He was not in heaven with the Father, at the very time that He was on the earth, let him be anathema. If any one affirm that in the death of the cross the sufferings were endured by the divine nature of the Son of God, and not by the body and rational soul which He assumed when he took upon himself the form of a servant, even as is declared in the holy Scriptures, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, that He was crucified in the flesh, that He suffered death in the flesh, and that He was the first-born of the dead, even as He is also life, and, like God, the Giver of life, let him be anathema. If any one should not confess that He has now sat down at the right hand of the Father in the human body which he took upon himself, and that He will come in the same body to judge the living and the dead, let him be anathema. If any one deny that the Holy Ghost is really and truly of the Father, even as is the Son, that He is of the divine substance, and that He is very God, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Holy Ghost is almighty, omniscient, and omnipresent, even as are the Father and the Son, let him be anathema. If any one say that the Holy Ghost was created or made by the Son, let him be anathema. If any one deny that the Father made all things, visible and invisible, by the Son, who became incarnate, and by the Holy Ghost, let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one in divinity, power, majesty, glory, and dominion, having one kingdom, one will, and one truth,

let him be anathema. If any one do not confess that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are truly three Persons, co-equal and co-eternal, possessing all things, both visible and invisible, that they are all-powerful, that they judge all things, and give life to all things, and that they have made and that they preserve all things, let him be anathema. If any say that the Holy Ghost ought not to be worshipped by all creatures, like the Father and the Son, let him be anathema. If any one think correctly respecting the Father and the Son, without entertaining orthodox opinions with regard to the Holy Ghost, he is a heretic; because all heretics who have formed mistaken notions concerning the Son of God and the Holy Ghost, are as guilty of unbelief as the Jews and the Pagans. If any one divide the Divinity, by pretending that as the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, that these three are three gods and not one God by the oneness of divinity and of power (as we believe and know, for the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are one God in three Persons), if he put aside the Son and the Holy Ghost, and recognise the Father alone as the one God, let him be anathema. The name of *gods* has been given by God to angels and to saints. But the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are not called *gods* but *God*, because of the oneness of their divinity, and because they are co-equal; so that we know that we are baptised in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and not in the name of angels or of archangels, as the heretics, the Jews, and the Pagans, foolishly imagine. The salvation of Christians con-

sists in believing in the Trinity, that is to say, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and in being baptised in the name of the one and the same Divinity, Power, Godhead, and Substance, in which we have believed."

CHAPTER XII.

DEATH OF GRATIAN.—TYRANNY OF MAXIMUS.

The above incidents occurred during the reign of Gratian. After having rendered himself redoubtable in war, and distinguished himself by the clemency and justice of his administration, he fell in a conspiracy which had been raised against him, leaving no children to inherit the empire. His brother, a very young man bearing the name of his father, was his only heir. Maximus contemned the extreme youth of Valentinian, and seized the empire of the West.

CHAPTER XIII.

PLOT FORMED BY JUSTINA, THE WIFE OF VALENTINIAN, AGAINST AMBROSE.

Justina, the wife of the elder Valentinian, and the mother of the younger, made known to her son, about this time, the principles of Arianism which she had embraced long previously. Perceiving the fervour of her husband's zeal for the faith, she concealed her sentiments during his life. But, after his death, she boldly presented these erroneous doctrines to the

young and flexible mind of her son. He readily listened to the representations of his mother, and was seduced by the allurements of maternal affection, without discerning the deadly nature of the bait. He repeated the arguments which had been brought before him to Ambrose, expecting that if he could convince this bishop, all other persons would by his means be readily led to receive the same sentiments. But Ambrose reminded him of the piety of his father, and besought him to preserve it inviolate as a rich inheritance which was his by right of birth. He explained to him the difference between orthodoxy and heterodoxy; proving that the one was conformable to the doctrines preached by the Lord and by his apostles, while the other was contrary to them, and opposed to the spiritual law. The prince, who was very young, and who had besides been deceived by his mother, not only refused to assent to the words of Ambrose, but took great offence at them, and commanded the church to be surrounded by a band of heavy and of light-armed infantry. But all that he could do was insufficient to shake the firmness of this great man, who regarded the proceedings of the prince with as much indifference as he would have looked upon frightful figures brought upon the stage to terrify children. This greatly exasperated the young prince, and he sent to desire Ambrose to leave the church. "I will not leave it," replied the bishop, "I will not abandon the sheepfold to wolves, neither will I give up the church of God to blasphemers. If you wish to kill me, you have only to strike me with a sword or a spear; I am willing to suffer such a death."

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MAXIMUS THE EMPEROR AND VALENTINIAN THE YOUNGER.

After this contest had continued for some time, Maximus, hearing of the violent persecution raised against the great defender of the truth, wrote to Valentinian, besecching him to terminate the war which he was waging against religion, and exhorting him not to abandon the faith of his father. He also threatened him with war if he refused to comply with his entreaties; and immediately confirmed his words by his actions, for he collected an army and marched towards Milan, where Valentinian was then residing. Being apprised of his approach, Valentinian fled to Illyria, and learnt by experience the baneful tendency of his mother's counsels.

CHAPTER XV.

OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN WRITING BY THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS UPON THESE OCCURRENCES.

When the excellent emperor Theodosius had heard of the proceedings of Valentinian, and of the letter of Maximus, he wrote to the young fugitive, and told him that the confidence of the usurper of the government, as contrasted with the intimidation of the lawful emperor, ought not to excite surprise, because the emperor waged war against religion,

while the usurper had taken up arms in her defence. The opponent of religion is always defeated, and obliged to escape naked, while he who defends her is invariably victorious; for the Author of piety is ever present with piety. Such were the truths contained in the letter of Theodosius. At a subsequent period, when the young prince threw himself upon his protection, Theodosius extricated him in the first place from the depths of impiety, and led him back to the religion of his father: he then took up arms on his behalf against the usurper, and restored the prince to his dominions; and, to revenge the death of Gratian, who had been unjustly murdered, he put the usurper to death.

CHAPTER XVI.

AMPHILOCHIUS, BISHOP OF ICONIUM.

When Theodosius returned to the East, the admirable Amphilochius, of whom mention has been already made, requested him to prohibit the Arians from holding their assemblies in the cities. The emperor, conceiving that this requisition involved the exercise of too much harshness, refused to comply with it. The wise Amphilochius remained silent for a time, and then adopted an expedient which is worthy of being remembered. He went to the palace soon after this occurrence. Arcadius, the emperor's son, who had been recently invested with the imperial dignity, was seated near the emperor. Amphilochius saluted the father, according to custom, but omitted

to salute the son. The emperor, imagining that this omission had arisen from forgetfulness, called him back, and commanded him to salute his son. Amphilochius said, that it was quite sufficient to pay that mark of respect to the emperor alone. Theodosius was offended, and expressed his resentment at the indignity offered to his son. Then the wise Amphilochius declared to him the motive of his conduct; and said in a loud voice, "You see, O emperor, that you cannot endure to see any want of respect manifested towards your son, but that you are filled with indignation against those who insult him. You may be sure then that the God of all holds in abhorrence the blasphemies uttered against His only begotten Son, and that He turns away from those who thus dishonour Him." The emperor was as much astonished at this speech as he had been by the conduct of Amphilochius, and immediately enacted a law prohibiting heretics from holding assemblies.

But it is not easy to escape all the snares of the common enemy of mankind. It often happens that he who evades the allurements of voluptuousness is enslaved by avarice; he who rises superior to avarice is overcome by envy; he who is not subject to envy is not free from anger; and there are besides thousands of other snares by which the feet of men are entangled, and in which they are captured to their own destruction. The passions which derive their origin from the body are often as the instruments by which the soul is slain. It is only when the mind is intent upon divine things, that the force of temptation can be resisted. As the emperor was a man, and

was possessed of the passions of man, it ought not to excite astonishment that his justifiable indignation became on one occasion unmeasured and burst all bounds, and that by the immoderate indulgence of anger he committed a deed of atrocious cruelty. I shall relate this action for the profit of my readers. The details connected with it redound more to the praise than to the dishonour of this admirable emperor.

CHAPTER XVII.

MASSACRE AT THESSALONICA.

THESSALONICA is a large and populous city: it is situated in the province of Macedonia, and is the metropolis of Thessaly, Achaia, and of several other provinces which are under the administration of the governor of Illyria. A sedition arose in this city, and some of the magistrates were stoned and dragged through the streets. When the emperor was informed of this occurrence, his anger rose to the highest pitch: and, instead of curbing it by the suggestions of reason, he gratified his vindictive desire of vengeance by unsheathing the sword most unjustly and tyrannically against all; slaying alike the innocent and the guilty. It is said that seven thousand persons were put to death without any of the forms of law, and without even having judicial sentence passed upon them; but that, like the ears of corn in the time of harvest, they were all alike cut down.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FIDELITY OF THE BISHOP AMBROSE.—PIETY OF THE EMPEROR.

Ambrose, of whom we have so often spoken, when apprised of this deplorable catastrophe, went out to meet the emperor, who, on his return to Milan, desired to enter as usual the holy church; but Ambrose prohibited his entrance, saying, "You do not reflect it seems, O emperor, on the guilt you have incurred by the great massacre which has taken place; but now that your fury is appeased, do you not perceive the enormity of the crime? It may be that the greatness of your empire prevents your discerning the sins which you have committed, and that absolute power obscures the light of reason. It is, however, necessary to reflect on our nature which is subject to death and to decay; for we are made of dust, and unto dust we must return. You must not be dazzled by the splendour of the purple in which you are clothed, and be led to forget the weakness of the body which it enrobes. Your subjects, O emperor, are of the same nature as yourself, and not only so, but they are likewise your fellow-servants. For there is one Lord and Ruler of all, and He is the Maker of all creatures whether princes or people. How would you look upon the temple of the one Lord of all? How would you walk upon such holy ground? How could you lift up in prayer hands steeped in the blood of unjust massacre? How could you with such hands

presume to receive the most sacred body of our Lord? How could you carry his precious blood to a mouth, whence the word of fury issued, commanding the wanton effusion of innocent blood? Depart, then, and do not by a second crime augment the guilt of the first. Submit to the wholesome bonds which God the Lord of all has ordained; for such bonds possess healing virtue and power to restore you to health."

The emperor, who had been brought up in the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and who well knew the distinction between the ecclesiastical and the temporal power, submitted to this rebuke; and with many groans and tears returned to his palace. More than eight months after, the festival of our Saviour's birth occurred. The emperor shut himself up in his palace, mourned bitterly, and shed floods of tears. This was observed by Rufin, the controller of the palace, and he took the liberty of enquiring the cause of his tears. The emperor, sighing yet more piteously, and weeping still more bitterly, replied, "You, O Rufin, may be at ease, and may be able to divert yourself, for you do not feel the evils under which I groan. I weep and sigh when I reflect on the calamity in which I am involved; the church of God is open to servants and to mendicants, and they can freely enter and pray to the Lord. But to me the church is closed, and so are the doors of heaven. The following words of our Lord dwell upon my memory: 'Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.'" "If you will permit me," said Rufin, "I will run to the bishop, and beseech him to unloose your bonds." "You will not be able

to persuade him," said the emperor. "I see the justice of the sentence which he has pronounced against me, and I know that respect for imperial power will never lead him to transgress the divine law."

Rufin, however, persisted in declaring that he could obtain some promise from Ambrose. The emperor, therefore, commanded him to go immediately, while he himself, animated by the hope that Rufin would obtain some concession, followed very shortly after.

As soon as St. Ambrose saw Rufin, he thus addressed him: "You imitate, O Rufin, the impudence of dogs. You were the adviser of this cruel massacre, and now you have divested yourself of every feeling of shame, and neither blush nor tremble at having given vent to your fury against the image of God." Rufin addressed him in a supplicatory tone, and told him that the emperor was coming to him. Ambrose, inspired by divine zeal, replied, "I declare to you, O Rufin, that I forbid him from entering the gates of the holy church. If he change his empire into tyranny, I will gladly receive death."

On hearing this determination, Rufin sent to the emperor to inform him of what the bishop had said, and to advise him to remain within the palace. But the emperor, having received this message when he had reached the middle of the market-place, exclaimed, "I will go and receive the rebukes which I so justly deserve." When he arrived at the entrance of the church, he did not go into the sacred edifice, but went to the bishop who was sitting in his own house, and besought him to unloose his bonds. Ambrose accused him of having acted in a tyrannical manner,

of having risen in opposition against God, and of having trampled upon his laws. Theodosius replied, "I do not oppose the laws which have been laid down, neither do I intend to enter within the sacred doors contrary to your injunctions; but I beseech you, in consideration of the mercy of our common Lord, to unloose me from these bonds, and not to shut against me the door which is opened by the Lord to all who truly repent." "What repentance," asked the bishop, "have you then manifested for so great a crime? What remedy have you applied to so severe a wound?" The emperor replied, "It is your office to point out the remedy, and mine to receive and to comply with it." "As you acted by the impulse of passion," said the holy Ambrose, "and enacted the sentence according to the dictates of resentment rather than of reason, let a law be drawn up to cancel henceforth all decrees passed in haste and fury; and to decree that when sentence of death or of proscription has been signed against any one, thirty days are to elapse before the sentence is carried into execution, and that on the expiration of this period the case is to be brought before you; for your resentment will then be calmed, and will leave your reason and judgment at liberty to examine the facts, and to decide whether the sentence be just or unjust. If it be proved to be unjust it ought to be revoked, but if just it ought to be confirmed. The delay of this number of days will not injure the cause of justice."

The emperor listened to this advice; and, deeming it to be excellent, he immediately ordered the law to be committed to writing, and he signed the document

with his own hand. St. Ambrose then unloosed his bonds. The emperor, who was full of faith, took courage to enter the holy church; he prayed neither in a standing nor a kneeling posture, but throwing himself on the ground, he said, with David, "My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word" (Ps. cxix. 25). He tore his hair, struck his forehead, and shed torrents of tears as he implored forgiveness of God. When the time came to present offerings on the communion-table, he went up weeping no less than before, to present his gift; and, as usual, remained afterwards within the inclosed space. The great Ambrose, however, did not suffer this in silence, but acquainted him with the distinction between different places in the church. He first asked him what he wanted; and, on his replying that he remained for the purpose of partaking of the holy mysteries, he directed his deacon to address him in the following words: "The priests alone, O emperor, are permitted to enter within the palisades of the altar, all others must not approach it. Retire, then, and remain with the rest of the laity. A purple robe makes emperors but not priests."

The faithful emperor gladly listened to this representation, and sent word back to Ambrose, that it was not from arrogance that he had remained within the palisades of the altar, but because such was the custom at Constantinople, and that he owed him thanks for his advice on the occasion. Such were the virtues which adorned the emperor and the bishop. I greatly admire the boldness and fervent zeal of the one, and the submission and pure faith of the other.

When Theodosius returned to Constantinople, he observed the pious regulation which had been explained to him by the great bishop. When a festival occurred he repaired to the church, and after having presented his gift at the altar, immediately retired. Nectarius, the bishop of the church, asked him why he did not remain within the precincts of the altar: he sighed and said, "I have learnt, after great difficulty, the difference between an emperor and a priest. It is not easy to find a man capable of teaching me the truth. Ambrose alone deserves the title of bishop." Such were the valuable results of the rebukes of a man of eminent virtue.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EMPRESS FLACILLA.

The emperor possessed another means of progressing in piety; his wife was well acquainted with the divine laws, and she constantly recalled them to his memory. Far from being puffed up by the extent of her power, it only led her to desire still more ardently the things of God. The greatness of the blessings which she had received served only to increase her love towards the Lord. She watched with the greatest solicitude over all those whose bodies were mutilated, and who had lost any of their limbs; she visited them at their own dwellings, waited upon them herself, and supplied all their wants. She repaired with the same zeal to the public hospitals of the church, where she tended the sick, made ready

their culinary utensils, tasted their broth, carried the dish to them, broke their bread, divided the meat, washed their cups, and performed all the other offices for them which usually devolve upon servants. When any one endeavoured to dissuade her from this custom she always replied, "It is right for emperors to distribute gold. I offer this service to God because it is He who has invested me with the imperial dignity." She used very frequently to say to her husband, "You ought always, O man, to reflect on what you were, and on what you now are. If you were often to dwell on this thought you could not be ungrateful to your heavenly Benefactor, but you would govern with justice the empire which He has committed to you, and you would thus be rendering service to the Giver." By these counsels, so frequently reiterated, she cherished and watered the seeds of virtue which were in the breast of the emperor. She died before him;* and some time after her decease an incident occurred which disclosed the affection which the emperor had borne towards her.

CHAPTER XX.

SEDITION IN THE CITY OF ANTIOCH.

THE frequent wars in which the emperor was involved, compelled him to lay fresh taxes on the cities of his empire. The citizens of Antioch were indignant at the new taxation; and, being still further irritated by the cruelty and severity of those who levied it, they rose up in sedition, and committed those ex-

* Flacilla died before the year 387.

cesses which are usually perpetrated by the multitude on similar occasions. Among other deeds, they threw down the bronze statue of the excellent empress Flacilla, and dragged it about the streets. The emperor was very angry when informed of this insult: he deprived the city of the privileges which it had hitherto enjoyed, and bestowed them on the neighbouring city, judging that this bestowal would give the greatest grief to the citizens of Antioch; for the city of Laodicea had long been a rival to that of Antioch. Besides this he threatened to set fire to the city, and to destroy it, and reduce it to the rank of a mere village. Several of the magistrates also had been sacrificed in the tumult before the emperor had received any intelligence of the sedition.

When the emperor had passed this severe sentence upon the city, the law obtained by the great Ambrosius prevented the decree from being carried into execution. But Elebichus, a general, and Cæsar, who was a superintendent, or what the Romans call a chamberlain of the palace, went to the city to execute the threats. All the inhabitants were seized with terror. The virtuous hermits who dwelt at the foot of the mountain, and who were then very numerous, approached these men with exhortations and entreaties. Amongst them was the divine Macedonius, who was totally ignorant of all learning whether sacred or profane, and who passed his nights and his days in offering prayers to the Saviour of all men upon the top of a mountain. Without being terrified by the wrath of the king, or by the power of those who were sent against him, Macedonius boldly seized the cloak

of a soldier in the midst of the city, and desired him and his companions to descend from their horses. At first, regarding him only as a man of advanced age and of short stature, clad in rags, they were indignant at his conduct. But when they were informed by a by-stander that he was a man of extraordinary virtue, they dismounted from their horses, and, embracing his knees, implored his pardon. Then this holy man, who was filled with the wisdom of God, addressed them in the following words: "Go, my friends, to the emperor, and say to him, You are not only an emperor but a man; and you ought not only to reflect on empire but also on nature. You are a man yourself, and have to command your fellow-creatures. Man was made in the image and likeness of God. Do not, then, order the image of God to be slain. You would offend the Artificer by mutilating his image. Consider, likewise, that it is but on account of a statue of bronze that you have passed this sentence. Now it is evident to every one possessed of sense, that there is a great difference between a lifeless and a living image. Consider, also, that it is easy to us to replace a statue by making many others; whereas, of all the men who are about to be slain, we are not able to replace so much as one hair of their heads."

The two officers, after receiving their instructions from the admirable man, went to the emperor, and repeated what they had heard. They thus calmed his anger, so that instead of executing his menaces, he wrote apologies, and explained the cause of his resentment. "It was not right," said he, "that, on account of my transgression, a woman

deserving of all praise should after her death receive insult; it was against me alone that the weapons of vengeance ought to have been directed." He also added, that he was much grieved at the murder of some of the magistrates. I have dwelt on these circumstances, in order that the commendable boldness of the hermit may not be consigned to oblivion; and that the utility of the law obtained at the instance of the great Ambrose may be manifested.

CHAPTER XXI.

DEMOLITION OF IDOLATROUS TEMPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

The most faithful emperor next directed his attention towards the suppression of idolatry, and issued a law commanding the demolition of idolatrous temples. Constantine the Great, who was so worthy of all praise, and who was the first to adorn the imperial dignity with piety, was aware of the infatuation of the whole world, and therefore expressly prohibited sacrifices to demons. He did not, however, destroy their temples, but merely ordered them to be closed. His sons followed the footsteps of their father. Julian renovated the cause of impiety, and revived the ancient errors. Jovian had no sooner entered upon imperial power, than he prohibited the worship of idols. Valentinian the Elder governed Europe according to the laws which had been established. Valens gave license to all to worship what they pleased, and only opposed those

who defended the apostolical doctrines. Throughout the whole of his reign, fire burnt upon the altars of idols; libations and sacrifices were offered to them; and festivals in their honour were held in the market-place. Those who celebrated the orgies of Bacchus were seen running about the streets clad in skins and worked up to madness, tearing dogs to pieces, and committing other excesses, which were inculcated by the lord of the festival.

The faithful emperor Theodosius interdicted these rites, and consigned them to disuse. Marcellus, a most excellent bishop, was the first who carried this law into execution, by destroying the temples in his own city; for he had greater confidence in God than in the multitude of men. As the incident is worthy of being remembered, I shall here relate it. Upon the death of John, bishop of Apamea, whom we have already mentioned, Marcellus, a man zealous in spirit according to the apostolical injunction, was ordained in his stead. The prefect of the East went to Apamea, taking with him two military commanders and some soldiers. The people remained quiet from fear of the soldiery. The prefect undertook to demolish the temple of Jupiter, which was of spacious dimensions and richly ornamented. But when he perceived the firmness and solidity of the structure, he thought that no human strength could disjoin the stones; for they were of large size, and soldered together with iron and lead. The holy Marcellus observed the fears of the prefect, and sent him to execute the mandate in some other city; while he prayed to God to reveal the means of destroying the edifice.

The next day, at dawn, a man came to him who was neither a builder, a stone cutter, nor an adept in any kindred art, but who was merely accustomed to carry stones and wood on his shoulder, yet he offered to demolish the temple; for which service he asked the payment awarded to two workmen. The holy bishop having agreed to pay the stipulated sum, the man proceeded to work in the following manner. The temple was built on elevated ground, and had a portico on each of the four sides. There were also columns which were equal in height to the temple, and of which each was sixteen cubits in circumference. The stone was of so hard a nature, that it would scarcely yield to the tools. The labourer dug deeply around the foundations of these columns; and, after removing the earth, substituted wood of an oleaginous nature, to which he then set fire. But a black demon appeared, who withheld the power of the flames, and prevented the combustible matter from being consumed, according to the physical laws.

After this had occurred several times, the workman, perceiving that all his labour was useless, went to acquaint the bishop, who was then taking his mid-day repose. The bishop ran directly to the church, and called for water; when it was brought, he placed it upon the holy altar. He then threw himself upon his face on the ground, and supplicated the Lord to manifest the weakness of the demon and His own power, in order that unbelievers might not have a pretext for continuing in their unbelief. After having uttered these and

other supplications, he made the sign of the cross upon the water, and desired Equitius, a deacon who was full of faith and zeal, to take the water and to sprinkle it on the wood, and then to set fire to it anew. After the deacon had followed these instructions, the demon was not able to resist the power of the water. Although water is the antagonistical power to fire, yet, on this occasion, it acted as oil in forwarding the combustion, and in a moment the wood was consumed. The fall of three columns immediately followed, and, in their fall, they dragged with them twelve others: the side of the temple, which was supported by them, fell down at the same time. The noise of the fall resounded throughout the whole city, and the people ran to witness the spectacle. When they were informed of the flight of the inimical demon, they sang praises to the God of all. In the same way did the holy bishop destroy other temples. I could relate many other incidents respecting this bishop which would excite much astonishment. He kept up a constant epistolary correspondence with the martyrs, and he shared in their conflicts and in their triumphs. But I shall now close the narration of these facts, lest I should weary my readers, and shall pass on to the relation of other occurrences.

CHAPTER XXII.

THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.—THE IDOLATROUS TEMPLE AND STATUES DESTROYED IN THAT CITY.

THE renowned and admirable Athanasius was succeeded by Peter. Timothy succeeded Peter, and Theophilus was the successor of Timothy. Theophilus was a man of great prudence and intrepidity. He delivered the city of Alexandria from the errors of idolatry. He not only overthrew the idolatrous temples from their very foundations, but also disclosed the frauds of the priests to those whom they had deceived. These impostors had provided hollow statues, made of bronze and wood, with the back fitted against the wall, whence they secured an entrance into them. Having secreted themselves within the statues, they issued whatever commands they pleased, and the hearers, deceived by the fraud, obeyed them. By breaking these statues, this wisest of bishops showed to the deceived people the imposture which had been practised upon them.

When he went into the temple of Serapis, which is said to have been the largest and most beautiful of the whole world, he saw a statue of so prodigious a size that terror was excited by merely looking at it. The alarm which it created was increased by a rumour which had been spread abroad, that, if any one should venture to approach it, an earthquake would immediately ensue, by which all the inhabitants of the world would be engulphed. But Theophilus

regarded these words as the random expressions of drunken old women; and, looking with contempt on the size of the statue, commanded a man who had a hatchet to strike Serapis with violence. When the blow was inflicted, all the people shrieked, fearing that what had been rumoured would come to pass. But Serapis suffered no pain from the wound, neither did it utter any exclamation; for it was made of wood, and was without life. When the head was broken open, a troop of mice immediately ran out; for these animals had made their abode in the interior of the god of the Egyptians. The body was broken up into small pieces and burnt; the head was carried throughout the city, and submitted to the inspection of those who had worshipped the idol, and who now ridiculed its weakness. In this way were the temples of the demons destroyed throughout the world.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DISPUTE BETWEEN FLAVIAN, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND THE BISHOPS OF THE WEST, CONCERNING PAULINUS (A. D. 381).

Flavian, who had sustained with Diodorus so many conflicts in defence of the Saviour's flock, was appointed to succeed the great Melitius in the bishopric of Antioch. Paulinus endeavoured to prove that he had himself a prior right to this bishopric. But the priests rejected his pretensions, saying, that as he would not receive the counsels of Melitius, he ought not to obtain his episcopal chair after his death, but that the pastoral office

ought to be bestowed upon one who had distinguished himself by so many arduous labours, and who had so often defended the flock. This contention greatly irritated the Romans and the Egyptians against the Eastern bishops; and the consequent feelings of animosity did not subside even after the death of Paulinus.*

When they had raised Evagrius to the episcopal chair, they still retained their resentment against Flavian, although Evagrius had been ordained against the canons of the church; for Paulinus alone had elected him; thus transgressing many of the ecclesiastical laws. The canons of the church do not permit a bishop, when on his death-bed, to ordain his successor, but declare that the consent of all the bishops of the province is requisite, and that the ceremony of ordination is to be performed by three bishops. Although none of these regulations had been observed in the ordination of Evagrius, the Romans and Egyptians entered into fellowship with him, and endeavoured to prejudice the emperor against Flavian. Wearied by their importunity, the emperor at length sent to Constantinople to summon Flavian to Rome. Flavian excused himself on account of its being winter, and promised to obey the emperor's command the ensuing spring. He then returned to his native country. The bishops of Rome, among whom was not only the admirable Damasis, but also Siricius, who afterwards succeeded him, as well as Anastasius, the successor of Siricius, rebuked the pious emperor, and told him, that while he repressed the attempts of those who rose up against his own authority, he suffered those who

* Paulinus died about A.D. 389.

insulted the laws of Christ to exercise the authority which they had usurped. The emperor therefore again sent to compel Flavian to repair to Rome. To this mandate the wise bishop replied with great boldness of speech, saying, "If any individuals, O emperor, should accuse me of heterodoxy, or should say that my life is derogatory to the episcopal dignity, I would permit my accusers to be my judges, and would submit to whatever sentence they might pronounce. But if it be only my right to my episcopal chair and office that they are contesting, I shall not contend for my claims, but shall relinquish my seat to whoever may be appointed to take it. Give, then, O emperor, the bishopric of Antioch to whomsoever you please."

The emperor admired his courage and wisdom, and sent to command him to resume the government of his church. Some time after the emperor returned to Rome, and the bishops again reproached him for not having suppressed the tyranny of Flavian. The emperor replied, by asking what species of tyranny had been exercised by Flavian, and declared his readiness to prohibit it. The bishops replying, that they could not litigate any point against an emperor, he exhorted them to be reconciled with each other, and to terminate the foolish contention. For Paulinus had died long previously, and Evagrius had been illegally ordained. Besides, the Eastern churches acknowledged the supremacy of Flavian; all the churches of Asia, of Pontus, and of Thrace, were united with him in communion: and all the churches of Illyria looked upon him as the primate

of the East. The bishops of the West were convinced by these representations, and promised to lay aside their hostility, and to receive an embassy from Flavian. On hearing this, the holy Flavian sent some exemplary bishops to Rome, with some presbyters and deacons of Antioch. The principal man among them was Acacius, bishop of Berœa, a city of Syria, whose fame was spread throughout the world. On his arrival with the others in Rome, he terminated the long-continued hostility which had lasted seventeen years, and restored peace to the churches. When the Egyptians became acquainted with this proceeding, they laid down their animosity, and established concord. The church of Rome was at this period governed by Innocent, a man of great sagacity and prudence; he was the successor of Anastasius. Theophilus, of whom mention has been already made, was then the bishop of Alexandria.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TYRANNY OF EUGENIUS, AND THE VICTORY THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS OBTAINED BY FAITH.

Thus did this most pious emperor restore peace among the churches. But before he had fully accomplished this great work, he was informed of the death of Valentinian, and of the usurpation of Eugenius, and he therefore led his army into Europe. About this time there dwelt in Egypt a certain hermit named John, who had devoted himself to a life of austerity.

He possessed many spiritual gifts, and among others, that of predicting the future. The pious emperor sent to him, to inquire whether he ought to take up arms against the usurper. He had at a former period predicted the bloodless and triumphant issue of another war; but upon this occasion he told the emperor, that, in this second war, the victory would not be obtained without much effusion of blood. In this hope the emperor marched forward to battle. Great losses were sustained by the enemy in the engagement; but many of the barbarians who formed the emperor's auxiliary forces were slain. The generals represented to him that his army was greatly reduced in numbers, and advised him to defer the war until the spring, when fresh reinforcements might be procured; but the faithful emperor refused to listen to this counsel. "It would not be right," said he, "to attribute weakness to the cross of Christ, which is borne as the standard of our Army, and to testify our assent to the power of the image of Hercules, which the enemy adopts as their standard." He made this declaration in the spirit of faith, although his troops were weakened and were few in number: finding a small house towards the summit of a mountain, near which was a place for his army to encamp, he passed the whole night in praying to the Lord of the Universe. Towards the hour of cock-crowing, sleep stole upon him. As he was lying on the ground he thought he saw two men clothed in white, and mounted on white horses, who exhorted him to be of good courage, to renounce all fear, and, at the dawn of day, to draw out his troops, and lead

them on to battle. They said they had been sent to aid him, and to fight for him, and told him that one of them was John the Evangelist, and the other the Apostle Philip. The emperor, after seeing this vision, prayed with still greater fervour. One of the soldiers saw the same vision, and related it to the centurion. The centurion took the soldier to the tribune; the tribune took him to the general. The general went and told the emperor, thinking that it was something new that he had to communicate. "It is not for my sake," said the emperor, "that these things were shown to him, for I fully believed those who promised me the victory. But that no one might suspect that from the desire of engaging in battle I feigned to have seen such things, the Protector of my empire revealed the same to him also, that he might bear witness to the truth of my assertion; for it was to me that the Lord of all first gave the vision. Let us then throw off all fear, and follow our military leaders, and let us not estimate the chances of victory by the number of combatants, but let us take into account the power of our leaders."

After he had said these things to the soldiers, and had by his words filled them with alacrity, he led them down from the top of the mountain. The usurper seeing from afar the hostile army ranged in order of battle, armed his troops also, and prepared for combat. He addressed them from a rising ground, and stated that the emperor was only preparing for battle from despair and the desire of death, and he commanded his generals to capture him alive, to bind him, and to bring him before him. When the two armies approached each

other, the hostile troops appeared extremely numerous, while those commanded by the emperor seemed very few in number. But when the combat commenced, the truth of the promises of the protectors of the emperor was soon manifested. A violent wind prevented the action of the enemy's shafts, and blew back their arrows upon themselves. Neither the heavy armed men nor the archers could wound one of the emperor's army. The wind blew such a quantity of dust into their faces, that they were compelled to close their eyes. In the meantime the emperor's troops, who did not receive the least injury from the hurricane, boldly cut the enemy to pieces. The latter, perceiving that God was against them, laid down their arms, and entreated the emperor to give them quarter. He granted their petition, and desired that the usurper should be immediately brought before him. They ran to the place where the usurper, ignorant of what had occurred, was waiting to hear the issue of the battle. When he saw them running swiftly, and perceived that they were out of breath, he thought that they came to announce that victory had been gained, and asked them whether they had brought Theodosius bound, according to his commands. "We do not bring him to you," said they, "but we have to take you to him!" When they had said this, they loaded him with chains, and dragged him as a captive before him against whom he had, but a short time previously, so proudly boasted. The emperor reminded him of the guilt of his conduct against Valentinian, of the illegality of his usurpation, and of his revolt against

the lawful emperor. He also ridiculed the image of Hercules, and the folly of those who trusted in it. He then justly pronounced the sentence of death against him. Such was the conduct of Theodosius in peace and in war: he always implored the assistance of God, and invariably received it.

CHAPTER XXV.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS.

He was taken ill some time after the victory, and divided the empire between his sons. He gave to the elder that part of the empire which he had governed, and bestowed upon the younger the sceptre of Europe, and exhorted them both to piety,—"for it is by piety," said he, "that peace is preserved, that war is terminated, that trophies are upreared, and that victories are decided." After he had thus exhorted his sons, he died, and left behind him eternal fame.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HONORIUS THE EMPEROR, AND THE MONK TELEMACHUS.

The successors to the empire inherited the piety of their father. Honorius, who had received the empire of Europe, abolished the ancient exhibitions of gladiators in Rome on the following occasion. A certain man named Telemachus, who had embraced a monastical life, came from the East to Rome at a

time when these cruel spectacles were being exhibited. After gazing upon the combat from the amphitheatre, he descended into the arena, and tried to separate the gladiators. The sanguinary spectators, possessed by the demon who delights in the effusion of blood, were irritated at the interruption of their cruel sports, and stoned him who had occasioned the cessation. On being apprised of this circumstance, the admirable emperor numbered him with the victorious martyrs, and abolished these iniquitous spectacles.

CHAPTER XXVII.

PIETY OF THE EMPEROR ARCADIUS.—ORDINATION OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

On the death of Nectarius, the bishop of Constantinople, Arcadius, who governed that part of the empire, hearing that John, the great luminary of the world, had been ordained a presbyter in Antioch, sent for him, and ordered the bishops to install him as the pastor of the great city. This action alone is sufficient to evince the zeal of the emperor for religion. At this time Flavian was the bishop of Antioch. Elpidius, who had been the companion of the great Melitius, and who more closely resembled him in life and conversation than the wax resembles the impression of the seal, had succeeded to the government of the church of Laodicea, upon the death of Pelagius. The holy Marcellus was succeeded by the celebrated Agapetus, who had led a life of retirement during the time that the storms of perse-

cution were raging. Maximus, a friend of John, was the bishop of Seleucia, a city situated near Mount Taurus; and Theodore was the bishop of Mopsuestia. They were both eminent as preachers. Acacius, celebrated for great prudence and sanctity of life, governed the church of Berœa, and Leontius, who was renowned for many virtues, ruled the church of Galatia.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BOLDNESS OF THE BISHOP JOHN IN THE CAUSE OF GOD.

John had no sooner received the helm of the church, than he began to rebuke crime with much boldness. He gave many useful counsels to the emperor and the empress; he obliged the priests to observe the canons of the church; and prohibited those who violated them from approaching the altar, saying, "That it was not right that those should enjoy the sacerdotal dignity who did not imitate the sanctity of those who were true priests." But he did not confine his zeal to the city: its effects were felt throughout all Thrace, which is divided into six provinces; throughout the whole of Asia, in which there are eleven governments; and throughout Pontus, which comprises the same number of governments as Asia.

CHAPTER XXIX.

IDOLATROUS TEMPLES DESTROYED BY JOHN, IN PHENŒCIA.

HEARING that some of the inhabitants of Phenœcia were addicted to the worship of demons, John selected some ascetics who were filled with fervent zeal, and sent them to destroy the idolatrous temples, furnishing them with imperial edicts to authorise the act. He did not take the money, requisite to pay the labourers appointed to destroy the temples, from the royal treasury, but induced some ladies of great opulence, who were eminent on account of their faith, to defray this expense; and the temples of the demons were then thrown down from their very foundations.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CHURCH OF THE GOTHS.*

PERCEIVING that the Scythian multitudes had been entrapped in the perfidious snares of Arianism, John made every effort to liberate them. He selected some persons who were acquainted with their language, and after having had them ordained, some as presbyters, others as deacons, and the rest as readers of the Scriptures, he assigned a church to them, and many were, by their instrumentality,

* It is not certain whether the events recorded in this chapter took place A. D. 398 (immediately after the advancement of Chrysostom to the see of Constantinople), or A. D. 400.

reclaimed from error. He frequently visited this church himself, and addressed the people by the aid of an interpreter; and he exhorted all who were endowed with the requisite powers of mind to engage in the same service. By these means he delivered many of the inhabitants of the city from the snares in which they had been entangled, and convinced them of the truth of the apostolical doctrines.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BENEVOLENCE OF JOHN TOWARDS THE SCYTHIANS.—ZEAL MANIFESTED BY HIM AGAINST MARCION.

THE bishop, on being informed that some nomadic tribes of Scythia, who pitched their tents along the banks of the Ister, thirsted for the waters of salvation, but had no one to bring the spring to them, sought out men willing to imitate the labours of the apostles, and sent them to these people. I have read some of his letters written to Leontius, the bishop of Ancyra, in which he speaks of the conversion of the Scythians, and begs him to send to them men capable of showing them the way of salvation. Hearing that there were in our neighbourhood certain villages in which the errors of Marcion were held, he wrote to the pastor of that region, and exhorted him to eradicate the evil, and offered him the aid of the imperial power. The heart-felt solicitude with which, like the divine apostle, he watched over the welfare of the churches, is clearly evinced by the facts which have been just related.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PETITION OF GAÏNAS AND REPLY OF JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

The following incidents prove the boldness of the bishop. A certain Scythian, named Gaïnas, who was of a ferocious, proud, and tyrannical disposition, ruled the military at this period, and had many of his own countrymen under him, and also large forces of Roman infantry and cavalry. He was feared by all, and even by the emperor, who suspected him of aspiring to the imperial dignity. As he had imbibed the infatuation of Arianism, he requested the emperor to give up a church for the use of those of the same persuasion. The emperor replied, that he would endeavour to give him satisfaction. He then sent for John, informed him of the request of Gaïnas, described the greatness of his power, intimated to him the ambitious projects which he was suspected of entertaining, and besought him to allay the fury of the barbarian by granting his request. The noble bishop replied, "Do not make this concession to him, O emperor; do not bestow the holy things on dogs. Nothing could induce me to eject those who preach the divinity of the Word, or to surrender the holy churches to those who blaspheme Him. Do not fear this barbarian, O emperor. Summon us both into your presence: do you remain silent, and listen to what we say, and I will so restrain his tongue, that he will no longer ask that which ought not

to be accorded." The emperor was much pleased with this proposal; and the next day summoned them both before him. Gaïnas having repeated his request, John replied, by saying, that it was not permitted to the emperor to do anything against the interests of the religion which he professed. Gaïnas replied, that it was necessary that some edifice should be allotted to him for prayer. "All the sacred edifices are open to you," said John; "and if you desire to pray, the entrance of none is prohibited." "But I," said Gaïnas, "belong to another sect; and I desire that a building should be appropriated to me and to my party. The services I have rendered to the empire in many wars, render it but just that my request should be granted." "The recompenses which you have received," replied the bishop, "exceed in number the services which you have rendered. You have been raised to the command of the troops, and have been invested with the consular robes. It is right that you should consider what you were formerly, and what you now are. Contrast your former poverty with your present opulence. Compare the garments which you wore before you crossed the Ister, with the robes in which you are now arrayed: you must surely perceive that, as your services have been few, so have your rewards been great; and do not be ungrateful towards those who have advanced you to so much honour." By these discourses, the doctor of the world closed the mouth of Gaïnas, and compelled him to be silent. Some time after, Gaïnas carried his long-formed projects of usurpation into execution;

he collected some troops in Thrace, and raised the standard of revolt. When this intelligence was announced, all the people, both rulers and subjects, were filled with alarm. There was no one who would venture to take up arms against him, neither would any one undertake to go on an embassy to him, so greatly was the power of the barbarian feared by all.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHRYSOSTOM REPAIRS AS AN AMBASSADOR TO GAÏNAS.

All the people at this juncture persuaded this great man, he being the only one among them who was not intimidated, to go on an embassy to Gaïnas. He did not stop to reflect upon the altercation which had taken place between them, nor on the probable resentment of the barbarian, but repaired willingly to Thrace. When Gaïnas heard of the approach of him whose fidelity in defending religion he well remembered, he joyfully travelled a long way to meet him; and when he saw him, he placed his right hand on his eyes, and drew his children round his knees. Thus does virtue charm and intimidate her very opponents.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PERSECUTION AGAINST JOHN, BISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Envy was unable to bear the lustre of the virtue of this bishop, and resorted to its usual artifices to deprive the metropolis and the whole world of his eloquence and doctrines. I cannot define the feelings I experience in writing this part of my history. For when I wish to relate the injustice to which this great man was exposed, I am confused by the recollection of the other virtues of those who injured him; I shall therefore endeavour, as far as possible, to conceal their names. They had, from various causes, conceived so inveterate a hatred against him, that they could not perceive the greatness of his numerous virtues. They sought out some persons to accuse him; but, as the falsity of their accusations was very manifest, they held a council without the city, and passed sentence against him. The emperor believed the assertion of the bishops, and commanded him to be banished: so that John, without hearing the grounds of his accusation, and without being permitted to make any defence, was, as if he had been guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, banished from the city to a place called Hiero, situated at the mouth of the Pontus. At night a great earthquake took place, and the empress was exceedingly terrified; at the earliest break of day messengers were despatched to the exile, entreating him to return with the utmost speed to the city, and deliver it from impending

danger. After these messengers had departed, others were despatched on the same errand, and then again others, until the Bosphorus was blocked up with the messengers. The mouth of the Propontus was filled with ships, in which the faithful people had embarked, for they all went out to him bearing lighted torches. Thus were the plots of the hostile faction frustrated. A few months after, the partizans of this faction again assembled, and laying aside their former false accusations, charged him merely with having exercised the episcopal functions after his deposition. He replied, that none of the forms of law had been observed in his case, that he had heard none of the accusations, that he had made no defence, and that no sentence of condemnation had been passed in his presence; but that he had been expelled from the city, and had been afterwards recalled by the emperor. The enemies of John again assembled in council, but did not trouble themselves this time by passing another sentence of condemnation. They succeeded in persuading the emperor that the first sentence was just and legal, and had him not only expelled from the city, but banished to Cucusus, a small and unpeopled district of Armenia. An order was then issued for him to be conveyed to Pityunta, a town situated at the farthest extremity of Pontus, and of the Roman empire, lying in the neighbourhood of the most cruel and barbarous nations. But the gracious Lord did not permit this triumphant combatant to be conducted thither; for, when he had travelled as far as Comana, he was translated to a life exempt from infirmity and pain. His body was, according to his

own command, deposited near the tomb of the martyr Basiliscus. It is unnecessary, and would render the history too prolix, to enumerate the bishops who were banished from their churches on his account, and who were expelled to the furthest extremities of the habitable globe; nor is it requisite to give an account of the hermits, who underwent cruel persecutions in the same cause. Besides, I think it is right to pass rapidly over such occurrences, and to conceal the transgressions of those who are one with us in faith. Most of those who had treated him so unjustly received the punishment that they had merited, and their sufferings served as warnings to the others. The bishops of Europe viewed the injustice with detestation; they withdrew from communion with those by whom it had been committed, and were joined by all Illyria. Most of the Eastern cities shunned all participation in the crime, and yet did not separate themselves from the body of the church. The Western bishops would not, even after the death of the great doctor of the world, admit to communion any member of the churches of Egypt, of the East, of the Bosphorus, or of Thrace, until they had placed the name of that inspired man on an equality with those of the other bishops. Arsacius, who succeeded him, was deemed unworthy of the bishopric. Attacus, the successor of Arsacius, sent many embassies to the bishops of the West, to solicit their friendship; and, at length, after he had restored the name of John to the holy registers, they acknowledged him as a bishop.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CYRIL, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ALEXANDER, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

Cyril, the nephew of Theophilus, was at this period bishop of Alexandria. John, a man of exemplary piety, was the bishop of Jerusalem, having succeeded another Cyril, who has been already mentioned. Alexander, who governed the church of Antioch, added the virtues of private life to the dignity of the priesthood. Before he was raised to the bishopric, he dwelt in a monastery, and led a life of conflict and austerity. He not only instructed others by precept, but confirmed his precepts by his actions. He succeeded Porphyry, who had received the helm of the church at the death of Flavian, and who had left behind him many memorials of his philanthropy, and of his remarkable prudence. The holy Alexander distinguished himself by the austerity of his life, by his love of wisdom, by his contempt of riches, by his eloquence, and by innumerable other endowments. The numerous partizans of Eustathius whom Paulinus, and after him Evagrius, would not receive into communion, were gained over by the mild exhortations of Alexander, and were re-united with the rest of the body; and he commemorated the event by a festival which was unequalled in point of splendour and magnificence. He assembled all those who had been of the same opinions as himself, both clergy and people, and brought them to the place in which the Eustathians

held their meetings. They found them engaged in singing psalms, and they sung with them. From the left gate opposite the West to the New Church, all the space was crowded with men; presenting the similitude of a majestic river, like that which flowed through the city. On seeing this, the Jews, Arians, and Greeks, lamented and mourned, because they perceived that this river was flowing into the sea of the church. This bishop was the first who inscribed the name of the celebrated John in the ecclesiastical register.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

REPENTANCE OF THOSE WHO HAD PERSECUTED THE BISHOP JOHN, AND THE REMOVAL OF HIS REMAINS.

The remains of the great teacher were, some time after, removed to the imperial city. A great multitude of the faithful crowded the sea in ships, and lighted up part of the Bosphorus near the mouth of the Propontis, with torches. These treasures were brought to the city by the present emperor,* who bears the name of his father, and who zealously maintains his pious principles. He laid his face upon the coffin, and entreated that his parents might be forgiven for having so unadvisedly persecuted the bishop. He had, by the death of his parents, been left an orphan at a very early age. But God took him under his own protection, and had him brought up in the knowledge of piety, while He preserved the

* Theodosius the younger.

empire from all seditions, and repressed the projects of usurpers. These mercies are ever present to his remembrance; and he is always ready to celebrate the praises of his Benefactor. In offering up these praises he is joined by his sisters, who have vowed perpetual virginity, and whose highest delight consists in meditating upon the holy Scriptures; the wants of the poor they regard as their treasure. The emperor is adorned with many excellent qualities; among which may be mentioned his philanthropy and mildness, his placidity of mind which can be ruffled by no tempests, and his sincere and stedfast faith. This will be clearly proved by the following narrative.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FAITH OF THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER, AND OF HIS SISTERS.

A MAN of a bold and audacious character, who had embraced an ascetic life, went to the emperor to make some request. After he had reiterated his demand several times without obtaining it, he ejected the emperor from communion with the church, and retired after imposing this restriction. The faithful emperor returned to his palace, where some guests had been invited to a banquet. On their arrival, he said that he would not sit down to table until he had received absolution. He sent to the bishop, beseeching him to request him who had imposed the restriction to remove it. The bishop replied that he ought not

so readily to submit to such restrictions, and that none, in fact, existed. But the emperor was not content with this absolution, until he who had excommunicated him had been found, which was not effected without great trouble, and had restored him to communion; so strong was the emperor's faith in the holy laws.

He had the ruins of the idolatrous temples removed, and their very foundations destroyed, in order that posterity might not find the slightest vestiges of former errors. This reason is inserted in the edict. These good seeds were followed by an abundant harvest, for the emperor received the protection of the Lord of the universe. Roilas, the leader of one of the wandering tribes of Scythia, passed the Danube with an immense army, devastated Thrace, and threatened to besiege and capture the imperial city; but thunders were launched against him, by which his army was destroyed. The same disaster happened to the Persians. For at a time when the Romans were occupied against other enemies, they violated the existing treaties, and invaded the neighbouring provinces, while the emperor, who had relied on the peace which had been concluded, had sent his generals and his troops to embark in other wars. God arrested the progress of the Persians by tremendous showers of rain and hail, so that in twenty days the cavalry were unable to advance as many furlongs, and the Roman generals had time to assemble their troops and advance upon them. In a former war, likewise, when the same people were besieging the city which bears the name of the emperor, God exposed them to

derision. Gororanes the Persian king, had surrounded the city more than thirty days, and had directed battering rams against it, and likewise thousands of other machines. The city was defended only by Eunomius, its holy bishop. He succeeded in rendering useless all the machines which were brought against the place; and, as our generals were afraid either to attack the enemy or to engage with the besiegers, he sustained the conflict alone, and preserved the city. One of the princes who were subject to the king of Persia, having presumed to utter blasphemies similar to those pronounced by Rabshakeh and by Sennacherib, and having threatened to burn the church, the holy bishop was unable to bear with his folly, and ordered a machine, to which the name of St. Thomas the Apostle had been given, to be placed on the wall, and to be directed against the blasphemer. Immediately the mouth of the impious man was struck by the stone, his head was broken, and his brains scattered upon the earth. On seeing this, the Persian king assembled his troops, raised the siege of the city, confessed himself vanquished, and, impelled by terror, readily agreed to peace. So graciously did the Almighty Ruler of the universe watch over the welfare of the faithful emperor, and reward his attachment to his service. This emperor had the remains of John, the great luminary of the world, transported to the city as we have already mentioned. But this did not happen till after the period of time at present under consideration.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THEODOTUS BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

INNOCENT, an excellent bishop of Rome, was succeeded by Boniface. Zosimus succeeded Boniface, and his successor was Celestine. In Jerusalem, after the death of the admirable John, Praylius was entrusted with the government of the church: his meekness of disposition was in admirable accordance with the signification of his name.* After the death of the holy Alexander, bishop of Antioch, Theodotus, a man of extraordinary wisdom, mildness, and sanctity, was appointed to the bishopric of Antioch. He re-united the sectarians who had embraced the views of Apollinaris to the rest of the flock. Many of them, however, retained some of their former erroneous principles.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE PERSECUTION IN PERSIA, AND THE MARTYRDOMS WHICH TOOK PLACE.

ABOUT this period Isdegerdes, the Persian king, kindled a war against the churches. The following was the cause of this war. There was a certain bishop named Abdas, who possessed many virtues: he was led by unrestrained zeal to destroy a Pyrœum, for so the Persians call the temples dedicated to fire,

* Πραύλιος from πραΰς mild, gentle, meek.

which they worship as a god. The emperor being informed of this act by the magi, sent for Abdas. At first he only reproved him in a kind manner, and desired him to re-erect the Pyrœum. Abdas having refused to obey, the emperor threatened to destroy all the Christian churches. He first ordered the holy man to be slain, and then proceeded to the demolition of the churches. I confess that the destruction of the Pyrœum was quite mis-timed. When the holy apostle went to Athens, and saw idolatry established in the city, he did not destroy any of the idolatrous altars, but, by his discourses to the citizens, he proved their folly, and made truth manifest to them. I, however, greatly admire the firmness of Abdas, in consenting to die rather than to re-erect the temple which he had destroyed, and I judge that he thereby merited a crown. Indeed it seems to me almost the same thing to erect a temple to fire, and to fall down and worship it as a deity. From this act of Abdas arose a tempest which raged with violence against all persons of piety, and which, lasted no less than thirty years : its violence and long duration were mainly occasioned by the magi. The Persians give the name of magi to those who attribute divinity to the elements of nature. I have exposed the fables which they hold in another work, with the answers proper to be given to all their questions. Upon the death of Isdegerdes, the kingdom and, as if by hereditary succession, the war against piety devolved upon his son Gororanes, who, at his death, transmitted both to his son. It is not easy to describe the various species of punishments which they invented to torture the

faithful. Some had their hands flayed, and others their backs. Some had the skin torn off the face, from the forehead to the chin. Others had reeds, which had been split in half, fastened round their bodies, and bound on as tightly as possible from head to foot, then, each of the reeds was dragged off with great force, bearing with it the adjacent skin. This operation occasioned great agony. The persecutors also dug pits, and filled them with mice; they then threw the pious defenders of the faith into these pits, after having first bound their hands and their feet, so that they could not drive off the animals. The mice, pressed by hunger, devoured their flesh, thus occasioning exquisite torture. Besides these cruelties, the persecutors devised and executed yet more barbarous punishments, which were suggested to them by the enemy of human nature and of truth. But nothing could shake the fortitude of these defenders of the faith. Some of them voluntarily surrendered themselves to the persecutors, desiring to receive the death which leads to immortal life. I shall relate the sufferings of two or three of these holy men, in order that their fortitude may convey an idea of that of the others. Hormisdas was descended from the illustrious race of Aclemenides, and was the son of a prefect. When the king heard that he was a Christian, he sent for him, and desired him to deny God the Saviour. But he told the king, that this command was neither just nor expedient. "Whoever," said he, "can be easily induced to contemn and to deny the God of the universe, would be much more easily persuaded to despise kings,

who are but men, and by nature subject to death. If it be a crime deserving capital punishment, O king," continued he, "to deny your power, how much more deserving of punishment is he who denies the Creator of all things." The king, instead of admiring the wisdom of this admirable speech, deprived him of his possessions and of his honours, and commanded him to take charge of the camels of the army. After many days had elapsed, the king, as he was looking through a window, caught sight of this great man, and perceived that he had become tanned by the heat of the sun, and that he was covered with dust. Remembering his illustrious parentage, the king sent for him, and ordered him to be attired in a linen tunic. Then, thinking that his mind would be subdued by his former labour, contrasted with the present kind treatment afforded him, he said to him, "Do not now persist in carrying on this contention, but renounce the Son of the carpenter." Hormisdas, full of divine zeal, tore, in the presence of the king, the tunic which he had given him, and said to him, "If, by this present, you thought to seduce me from religion, take back your gift." The king, perceiving his fortitude, banished him, naked as he was, out of the kingdom.

The king, discovering that Suenas, a wealthy man possessed of a thousand slaves, would not consent to deny his Creator, asked him which of his slaves was the most wicked. To this very slave the king gave authority over the whole family, and desired that he should be waited on by his master. He also gave the

wife of Suenas in marriage to this slave, hoping by these means to subdue the faith of this defender of the truth. But this hope was frustrated, for Suenas had built his house upon a rock.

A certain deacon, named Benjamin, was seized, and cast into prison. Two years after, a Roman ambassador arrived in Persia, who was sent upon some special embassy. He heard of the imprisonment of the deacon, and entreated the king to release him. The king consented, on condition that Benjamin would promise not to instruct any of the magi in the Christian doctrines. The ambassador promised in his own name, that Benjamin would comply with this condition. But Benjamin, on hearing the declaration of the ambassador, exclaimed, "I cannot refrain from communicating the light which I have received. The punishment of which those are worthy who hide their talents, is declared in the holy Gospel." The king, not being aware that such a reply had been made by Benjamin, commanded him to be released from captivity. After he had been set at liberty, he continued as usual to seek out those who were in the darkness of ignorance, and to lead them to the light of truth. About a year after, the king was informed of these proceedings; he sent for him, and commanded him to deny the God whom he worshipped. He asked the king, what punishment would be merited by one of his subjects who should leave the kingdom, and prefer to dwell in some other region. The king having answered that he would be worthy of death and of the greatest vengeance, this wise man said, "Of what punishment, then, is not that man worthy, who for-

sakes his Creator to make a god of one of his fellow-servants, and to render to him the worship which he owes to God?" The king was highly provoked at this reply, and he commanded twenty reeds to be forced up the nails of his hands and of his feet. But perceiving that he turned this punishment into ridicule, he ordered pointed reeds to be thrust into his private parts, which produced unspeakable agony. The generous defender of the faith was afterwards empaled, and in this condition he gave up his spirit. Numberless other barbarities were perpetrated by the Persians. It must not, however, be regarded as a matter of surprise, that these acts of cruelty and impiety were permitted by the Great Ruler of the universe; for, previous to the reign of the great emperor Constantine, all the Roman emperors furiously persecuted the defenders of truth. Diocletian also, on the day of the commemoration of our Saviour's sufferings, demolished all the sacred edifices which were in the Roman empire. But nine years afterwards these churches were rebuilt in a far higher style of magnificence and grandeur than before, whereas Diocletian perished in his impiety. The wars in which the church was involved, and her subsequent victory, were predicted by our Lord. It is evident that war is more profitable to us than peace; for, while the one renders us effeminate, heedless, and timid, the other inspires us with vigilance, and with contempt for the things which are passing away. But we have frequently dwelt upon these topics in other works.

CHAPTER XL.

THEODORE, BISHOP OF MOPSUESTIA.

During the time that the holy Theodotus governed the church of Antioch, Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, the teacher of all the churches, and the opponent of all the sects of heresy, departed this life. He had been a disciple of the celebrated Diodorus, and the associate and fellow-labourer of John, bishop of Constantinople. During the space of thirty-six years he fulfilled the duties of the episcopal office, and zealously opposed the heresies of Arius, Eunomius, and Apollinaris; and he led his flock to excellent pasturage. Polychronius, his brother, who to great powers of language added eminent sanctity of life, ruled the church of Apamea with wisdom and success. I shall now close my history: I ask no other reward for my labour than the prayers of my readers. This history extends over a period of one hundred and five years, namely, from the commencement of the Arian infatuation to the death of those admirable men, Theodore and Theodotus. I shall add, in the order of their succession, the names of the bishops who, after the persecution, governed the principal churches.

LIST OF THE BISHOPS OF THE GREAT CITIES.

In Rome (A.D. 311-422).

Miltiades, Silvester, Julius, Liberius, Damasis, Siricius, Anastasius, Innocent, Boniface, Zosimus, Celestine.

Bishops of Antioch (A.D. 312-415).

Vitalis, Philogonius, Eustathius; these were all orthodox. The following were Arians: Eulalius, Euphronius, Flacillus, Stephen, Leontius, Eudoxius. Then succeeded the following orthodox bishops: Melitius, Flavian, Porphyry, Alexander, Theodotus; they were joined by Paulinus and Evagrius, who had belonged to the sect of Eustathius.

In Alexandria (A.D. 300-412).

Peter, Achillas, Alexander, Athanasius, and Gregory, who was an Arian. Re-establishment of Athanasius. Peter, a disciple of Athanasius. Lucius, an Arian. Restoration of Peter. Timothy, Theophilus, and Cyril, the nephew of Theophilus.

Bishops of Jerusalem (A.D. 314-430).

Macarius, Maximus, Cyril, John, Praylius, Juvenal.

Bishops of Constantinople (326-425).

Alexander, Eusebius, an Arian, translated from the see of Nicomedia. To him succeeded Paul, the con-

fessor of the faith, Macedonius, the enemy of the Holy Ghost; and, upon his expulsion, the impious Eudoxius obtained the bishopric. Demophilus, a heretic, of the city of Berœa in Thrace; Gregory of Nazianzus, Nectarius, John Chrysostom, Arsacius, Atticus, Sisinnius.

END OF THE HISTORY OF THEODORET.

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